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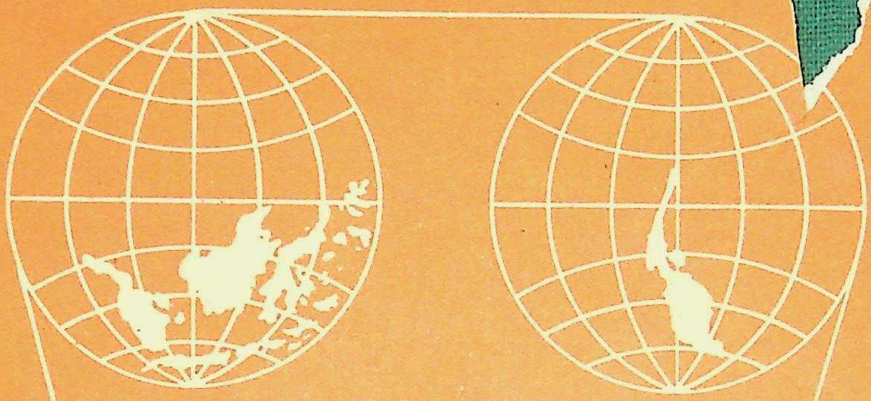

SOME CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF INDONESIA & MALAYSIA

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SOME CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO THE ANCIENT CIVILISATION OF INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA

By

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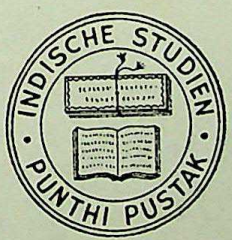

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TO
Dr. C. HOOYKAAS
AS A TOKEN
OF
GREAT REGARDS AND ESTEEM

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INTRODUCTION

The present monograph has developed out of an article I was requested to contribute to the seventh volume of the Cultural Heritage of India which has been projected for publication by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta. To write on familiar facts and phenomena is always a disagreeable task for the research workers, but believing that the presentation of the subject of Greater India from original sources may attract larger number of workers into this field, which is now being furrowed by a small but devoted band of research scholars from the East and the West, I took up the work in all seriousness, and the result is now placed before the public.

In India, the subject of Greater India has always evoked more enthusiasm than seriousness. Perhaps our Universities have also to bear certain responsibilities for the sorry state of affairs in this regard, as they have not yet found it possible to include the subject in their curriculum except at the undergraduate course. Until provision is made for the study and research on Greater India at the highest level, the paucity of Indian workers in the field is bound to persist for some time. It is obvious that Free India's first tribute to the culture-bearers of ancient India, who created the massive structure of Greater India, could have been paid only by organising study and research on this subject, but this has not been done, I hope this dessideratum in our educational programme will soon be rectified.

The term Greater India has often been subject to harsh criticism, but neither in the past nor at present has it acquired any political connotation. The term refers to a time when any other designation would have been most inappropriate. Even a few years ago, we were accustomed to hear of Indo-China, Indian Archipelago, Further India, etc., in serious works written by European scholars, and the practice has not entirely disappeared. The term Greater India fills up a bigger canvas ; it is quite appropriate and there is no better substitute for it. We had also perforce to use the much-maligned term

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of colony on some occasions, but it has not the political stigma attached to the term in historical works on modern times.

I have tried to bring together all important data within a narrow compass. Some new lines of investigation have been suggested here and there and a new theory has been propounded regarding the origin of the Śailendras, which has so far proved to be a Gordian knot. I do not know how far these will be acceptable to scholars, but the new interpretation of the data may open up new possibilities.

As regards diacritical marks, I have usually followed the international practice and the spellings of names and other terms, even when they are of Sanskrit origin, have ordinarly been kept as they occur in the original texts.

It is now my agreeable task to thank Dr. C. Hooykaas of the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, for his taking keen interest in my works over the years. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in inscribing this modest work to his name as a token of my high regards for him.

I have also to thank Prof. D. C. Ghosh in the preparation of the index.

Kharagpur College
25.8.66

H. B. Sarkar

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CHAPTER I

THE LURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

In continental South-East Asia and in many islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Indian culture and civilisation, as it had developed through the centuries by a process of conflict, assimilation and evolution, faced the people and culture of this region in their native grandeur. A study of this confrontation between two dissimilar people and cultures, the Indo-Aryan and the Austronesian, in the melting pot of South-East Asia, is a highly rewarding task for the historian and the cultural anthropologists, as it affords us with an opportunity to study here how a primitive people, with only rudiments of culture, reacted to an alien superior civilisation. It was a moment of supreme importance in Asian history, because, in the fringe-areas of South-East Asia, on the North and the West, stood two of the greatest powers of Asia, India and China, which, intentionally or unintentionally, entered into a race for the conquest of this region in two different ways at the dawn of its history. In this tryst with destiny India succeeded, whereas China, with its imperialistic designs, failed to make much headway, except in the deltas of Tongkin and North Annam. Nursed by a spirit of haughty imperialism at home and unsociableness or groupism sedulously encouraged in their personal life in the lands of their adoption, the Chinese could not join in the cultural stream of the country they settled in. It can be postulated from the history of ancient Indonesia that the Chinese immigrants who lived for long years in Indonesia, carried on trade there and freely intermarried with the native

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population could not appreciably influence the language and literature, art and religion, society and government of the country. India's success was due to a radically different approach : she allowed the indigenous elements to grow in a free climate of natural growth.[1] Hence, despite a similar start, the culture of the major people of South-East Asia, such as the Khmers, the Cāms and the Javanese, differ in important respects. If China could have got her way, such differences would have been stifled or considerably modified under the impact of Han imperialism, as the history of Central Asia reveals. Non-political pursuits seem therefore to have been the major aims of the Indian immigrants to South-East Asia.

In the first and second centuries of the Christian era, as archaeological and Chinese evidence indicates, Indian culture and civilisation groped its way into certain parts of South-East Asia, including Malaysia and Indonesia. In Malaysia, it seems to have gathered momentum in the 4th-5th centuries A.D., but flowering of its cultural and religious life seems to have taken place from the sixth century A.D. As the materials which betray symptoms of brisk life in Malaya are not adequate, it is possible to realign the dates later by one century on either side. So far as Indonesia is concerned, the introduction of Indian culure in Java-Sumatra is to be placed, on the basis of Chinese data to be discussed later on, in about the same time as in Malaya, or a little later, but the process of Indianisation gathered momentum from the seventh century A.D. It flowered into wonderful literary, artistic, religious and other kinds of achievements, which expressed themselves more or less vigorously up to the fifteenth century. In the 15th-16th century, Islam burst upon the political and cultural scene of the Malayo-Indonesian world, but it failed to obliterate Indian influences from language, literature and art of these places. The art and literature of Pre-Islamic Java, as have survived, and of Bali up to the present time, is a glowing tribute to the dynamic energy of the Indian immigrants, who brought along with them the blessings of an advanced civilisation, and of the gifted people of ancient

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Indonesia, who assimilated them and gave them a beautiful form and content in the strange Indonesian setting. Indian religion, social customs and ideals made a profound impact on the people living in the Malayo-Indonesian world and moulded them, to a great extent, after the Indian pattern. The subsequent emergence of Islam on this scene, excluding Bali and some other smaller island-entities, has fundamentally affected the social and religious outlook of the people, but the Hindu age still peeps through their languages, wayang literature, art and architecture, folk-literature and social ceremonies. When wayang-shows are staged on festive occasions to ensure happiness and to ward off disease, we are surprised to find the heroes and the heroines of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in fantastic shapes and dresses. The temples and caṇḍis dedicated to various members of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon still remind the passers-by of the legacy from ancient times. Even then one has to admit that the link between Islamic and Pre-Islamic Malaysia and Indonesia is, to a certain extent, historical. Some elements of the ancient period have no doubt survived in their modern life, but the cultural value of many other elements has undergone, broadly speaking, fundamental changes. These observations do not apply to the island of Bali. There has been no violent break in the continuity of its culture and civilization. These were fashioned, to a great extent, according to the pattern of life obtaining in ancient India. Later on, when Islam established itself firmly in a considerable part of India and Indonesia, the replenishing vigour of Hindu culture of the mainland which had sustained Indian culture in Greater India in the Pre-Islamic days, was no longer available to the Indianised population of these places in the same way as in the past : the live contact was snapped. Even in India, Hinduism was at bay, fighting a rearguard action in the face of the furious iconoclastic zeal of the Islamic invaders. A weakened Hinduism could not therefore nourish the religious systems transplanted in Malaysia and Indonesia. A considerable part of this region accepted Islam while Bali, receiving influx of refugees from Java, as were

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not prepared to give up their old religious and sacred texts from India, retained its Indian culture and civilisation, even though the current of Indo-Balinese contact had long dried up. Under the circumstances, the life in Indianised Bali moved out of its own volition.

Unfortunately the story of political and cultural contact between India and the Malayo-Indonesian world has not been adequately reflected in ancient Indian literature. As a matter of fact, there is no substantial evidence bearing on the question of nationality and homeland of the Indians, be they settlers or others, who first set their foot in the countries of South-East Asia. It may however be remembered in this connexion that this phase of Indian activity outside India gained momentum after the Aryanisation of India was completed. The data bearing on the earliest phase of this contact are very meagre indeed, but whatever we possess about it furnishes us with the first precious glimpse of the people of this vast terrain and oceanic zone in the twilight of history. In gleaning the material for the early period, we have to utilise works like the Buddhist *Jātakas*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Milindapañha*, *Bṛhatkathā*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and other *purāṇas*, *Kātyāyana's Vārtika*, *Gaṇapāṭha*, etc., and non-Indian works like the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny, the Chinese annals and other records, the accounts of Arab travellers, relics of sculptural and architectural art of this area, its palaeography, social customs, myths and legends, historical tradition and folk-tales, the names of localities, rivers and hills, loan-words, etc.

South-East Asia was the El Dorando of the ancient Indians. Indeed, the names of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa indicate that the lure of gold was a supreme passion with them. These names occur in ancient story-books like the *Bṛhatkathā* (now lost), the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (which preserves some parts of the *Bṛhatkathā*), the *Kathākoṣā*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, the *Jātakas*, etc., and some other books of serious literary type like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Niddesa*, the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, the *Śāsanavaṁsa*, etc. Some of these works or materials handled in them refer to the pre-Christian

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era. These names had become so familiar that, beginning from the first century A.D., Greek, Latin, Arab, Tibetan and Chinese authors have referred to them. Among the western authors who have referred to the island of Chryse (Gold) i.e. Suvarṇadvīpa, we may refer to Pomponius Mela,[2] who wrote his *De Chorographia* between A.D. 41-54, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1st century A. D.),[3] Pliny (c. 77 A.D.),[4] Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century A. D.),[5] Solinus (3rd century A.D.).[6] Martianus Capella (5th century),[7] Isidore of Seville (7th century),[8] the author of the Cosmography (7th century),[9] Theodulf (8th century),[10] etc. Some other western authors like Marinos of Tyre (1st century A.D.),[11] Marcien (5th century),[12] Eustathios (12th century A.D.)[13] have referred to Chryse Chersonesus or the Golden Peninsula, while Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.)[14] speaks of both Chryse Chora i.e. Suvarṇabhūmi and Chryse Chersonesus.

Many Arab writers have described Zabaj as the Golden Land or the Land of Gold. One may recall in this connexion the names of Harakī (12th century),[15] Yākūt (12th-13th century),[16] Sīrāzī (13th-14th century)[17] and some others. Nuwarī (died 1332 A.D.) described Fanṣūr (Pansur or Baros in Sumatra) as the Land of Gold.[18] That the ruler of San-fo-ts'i (Śrīvijaya in Sumatra) is called Hia-tch'e Sou-wou-tch'a-p'ou-mi, i.e. Haji Suvarṇabhūmi or King of Sumatra is not surprising, as an inscription found in the island itself dated in 1017 A.D.[19] describes the country as Suvarṇabhūmi, but I-tsing who made prolonged stay at Che-li-fo-che or Śrīvijaya twice designated it as Kin-tcheu i.e. Gold Island.[20] It may be recalled that Albīrūnī has also indifferently used the names Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi in regard to Zaba.[21] The names are therefore to be understood in a general sense, by which a large tract of South-East Asia, including a large part of its island-sector, came to be recognised as the El Dorado of the East.

It may be observed in this connection that not only countries, but also towns came to bear names signifying the City of Gold. A famous picture in a Nepalese MS is described as Suvaṇṇapure Śrīvijayapure Lokanātha i.e. (the

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image of) Lokanātha at the city of Śrīvijaya in Suvarṇapura,[22] Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* also refers to Suvarṇapura.[23] Similarly, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to Kāñcanapura,[24] which has the same meaning as that conveyed by Suvarṇapura.

As many of the Indian stories refer to merchants, it seems more than likely that the gold or riches of several countries of South-East Asia attracted these people, who gave these generic names to these countries on account of their wealth. This is also attested by the Chinese annals, at least in regard to the kingdom of P'an-p'an. It has been stated that many Brāhmaṇas went there in search of wealth. This wealth does not necessarily imply gold, but bears the general significance of anything which produces wealth.[25] It may be recalled that the Canggal Inscription[26] describes the island of Yava as full of grains and gold-mines, etc. As gold is not produced there, the expression obviously signified agro-ecomomic wealth. The idea of gold-dust or precious things in or under the soil, perhaps in some parts of Burma, Thailand and Sumatra, was so widely current that it was generally believed and this created a gold-rush, while the luxuriant character of the soil also helped to foster this belief. It was therefore not surprising that Pomponius Mela believed in the ancient tradition that the soil of the Chryse (Gold) Island was made of gold and that the soil of Suvarṇabhūmi was gold. According to Isidore of Seville (7th centnry A.D.). the majority of ancient writers believed in the truth of this assertion.[27] Arab writers like Harakī (died 1138 A.D.), Albīrūnī (1030 A.D.) Yākūt (A.D. 1179-1229) also shared the same belief. Such views had appeared to be irrational to some writers of the ancient world. Hence Pliny thought that what the people meant by the description that the soil of Chryse was made of gold really meant that it was full of gold mines, while Dionysius Periegetes explained away the name by stating that it looked like gold under the strong rays of the Sun.[28]

Whatever we may think of the various views regarding the significance of Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa, there are reasons to believe that Suvarṇabhūmi was the generic designa-

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tion of a huge terrain which was not well defined from geographic point of view, but, in course of time various parts of it came to enjoy various epithets appropriate for island, peninsula or city. The original name however never went out of use and it continued to denote, even at a much later period, Sumatra and parts of Burma. It has however to be remembered in this context that the Arab writers have equated the islands of Zabaj with Suvarṇadvīpa, which also includes Sumatra.[29]

In course of time, due to greater acquaintance with various lands of South-East Asia various parts of it came to be known under various names. Indeed Paurāṇic literature refers to different lands of South-East Asia, including the islands to the South of it. In the Sanskrit *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, there[30] occurs a list containing the name of some places of this region :

aṅgadvīpamā yāvadvīpam malayadvīpameva ca
śaṅkhadvīpaṃ kuśadvīpaṃ varāhadvīpameva ca
* * * * *
yavadvīpamiti proktaṃ nānāratnākarānvitam
tatrāpi dyutimānnāma parvvato dhātumaṇḍitaḥ
samudragāṇām prabhavaḥ prabhavaḥ kāñcanasya tu
tathaiva malayadvīpamevameva susanvṛtam
maṇiratnākaram sphītamakaram kanakasya ca

The verses quoted above state that (in Jambudvīpa) there are the islands of Aṅga, Yava, Malaya, Śaṅkha, Kuśa, Varāha ...It is said that the island of Yava abounds in many treasure-mines. In this island there is a hill, full of mines, called Dyutimān. This hill is the source of many rivers and gold. The island of Malaya also abounds in mines of gold, jewels and treasures.

The *Garuḍa*, the *Vāmana*, the *Matsya* and the *Vāyu purāṇas* also contain similar lists of lands or islands in South-East Asia. Even if we interprete dvīpa in the broad Pāṇynian sense that it refers to lands having water on two sides, it does not help us in the identification of all these places. Some of these lands have been mentioned by Arab writers of later times, and this raises a presumption that the lists are not

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fanciful, although we cannot satisfactorily identify all of them.[31] What invests the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*-list with importance is that the book has an Old-Javanese recension and that, according to the version quoted above, Java and Malaya abounded in gold-mines, but, as I have stated above, these are to be understood in a figurative sense. The Paurāṇic lists referred to above are not amenable to satisfactory identification, but R. C. Majumdar has tentatively suggested that Aṅgadvīpa may be identified with Angadiya of the Arab writers, Yamadvīpa which occurs in some texts in the place of Yavadvīpa may be the same as Yamakoṭi, 90° to the East of Laṅkā, Malayadvīpa is the same as Malay Peninsula, while Śaṅkhadvīpa and Varāhadvīpa may respectively be identified with the islands of Sankhay and Barawa of Arab geographers. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also refers to a place called Suvarṇakuḍyaka-dvīpa, which occurs thrice in the work.[32] Although it has been placed in Assam in a late commentary, it is an exact equivalent of the island of Chryse (Suvarṇa-Gold) and Argyre (Rūpyaka-Silver) of the classical writers. The *Arthaśāstra* also refers to two places like Pāra-Samudra and Pāsa, which may respectively be the same as the States of Samudra and Pasa in the North of Sumatra, though the identification of the former with Palaesimundu of the *Periplus*, as proposed by H. C. Raychoudhury is also not impossible.[33]

Apart from various Paurāṇic divisions of Bhāratavarṣa, which cover some places of Greater India as well, there are other names which occur in literature. Such names include Yavadvīpa (Island of Barley), to which I have invited attention above, Kaṭāhadvīpa (Keddah), Nārikeladvīpa (Cocoanut island), Karpūradvīpa (the Camphor Island), Varhiṇadvīpa (the island of peacocks), Takkola (the land of Cardamom) etc. The very names are suggestive. The *deśāntaravipāka*-section of the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* narrates the calamities of merchants who undertake voyage from Tāmralipti to these islands or Suvarṇabhūmi.[34] The *Niddesa* (2nd-3rd century A.D.), while commenting on the word 'torment' in the *Suttanipāta* describes the hazards of going to remote places, in

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reaching which sailors have to face extreme risks of life.[35] Of these places, some have been identified, such as, Suvarṇabhūmi, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha and Takkola with Ptolemy's Chryse Chora, Besyngeitai, Berabai and Takkola. Although all the identifications are not so obvious, they seem to refer to places in South-East Asia, even as places like Suvarṇabhūmi Java and Tamali do. The differentiation of Java from Suvarṇabhūmi however deserves attention. Tamali is the Tāmbraliṅga of Malaya referred to in a Sanskrit inscription from Caiya. Kālamukha may be a place on the Arakan coast. If any other place of the list refers to South-East Asia, that cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge.

There are, however, many countries in South-East Asia which have rivers, cities and hills reminiscent of their association with India. Many geographical names of this region bear Indian stamp. Names like Kāñcī, Nairañjanā, Bhānarasi (Vārāṇasī), Candrabhāgā, Gomatī, Sarayu, etc., undoubtedly remind one of their famous counterparts in India. The name of the island in the neighbourhood of Java might remind one of the Buddhist Madhurā, Madurā of South India or Mathurā, a land holy with the association of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In addition to these, many other geographical names of Sanskrit or Indian origin have found their place in literature, incriptions and topography of Java. Campā, Dvāravatī and Ayodhyā in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Thailand are famous alike in Paurāṇic and non-Paurāṇic literature. Similarly, Tāruma of West Java, Śrīkṣetra (=Furī in Orissa) for Old Prome, Ussa for Pegu, Ho-ling (Kaliṅga ?) have their counterparts in different places of India. Takkolam has its namesake in a village lying to the west of Madras, while Kaḍāram may remind one of a place in Madura.[36] These names do not, of course, give any indication regarding the original homeland of the colonists. Gonda[37] has truly observed that names like Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Dvāravatī, etc., merely reveal the popularity of the Indian epics and Paurāṇic literature, and it would perhaps be improper to study the significance of the names from a different context. Indeed,

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if we accept the argument that the geographical names of these places give a clue to the discovery of the homeland of the migrants, it will create as many new problems as it will solve.

The ancient stories bearing on South-East Asia refer to many enterprising merchants who went there in search of wealth. In the *Jātakas*, which ordinarily handle materials from the pre-Christian period, there are several stories of this type. In one such story, we read of Prince Mahājanaka who accompanied a group of merchants bound for Suvarṇabhūmi, while two other stories refer to voyage from Bharukaccha (Ptolemy's Barygaza and Mod. Broach) to Suvarṇabhūmi.[38] Several stories also occur in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in which the merchants Rudra[39] and Princess Guṇavatī[40] suffered ship-wreck. Trading expeditions of Samudraśūra[41]—it means here in the sea— to Kalasapura, capital of Suvarṇadvīpa, and of Iśvaravarmā[42] Yaśaḥketu[43] to Suvarṇadvīpa have also been narrated. Kaṭāhadvīpa has also figured prominently in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Apart from Princess Guṇavatī of Kaṭāhadvīpa,[44] we are also told of the merchant Guhasena who sails from Tāmralipti to Kaṭāha, where he was followed by his wife Devasmitā.[45] The most interesting story, from the viewpoint of the geography of the sea-journey, is that of the Brahmin Candrasvāmin who lost his son and a younger sister in the woods. Having learnt that they were saved by Kanakavarman, he pursued him through the islands of Nārikeladvīpa, Kaṭāhadvīpa, Karpūradvīpa, Suvarṇadvīpa and Siṃhaladvīpa.[46] If I-tsing's travels be any guide and so far as the present data enable us to judge, the islands respectively refer to the Nicobar Island, Kedah, part of Northern Sumatra (Port Barus-region) Java and Ceylon. Though too much reliance cannot be placed on such itinerary, it follows that of I-tsing from the Nicobar Island to Sumatra. The trading character of many of these voyages are also further reflected in other types of literary works. While Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[47] refers to aloes-wood or *aguru* from Suvarṇabhūmi the *Milindapañha* tells us.[48] "As a wealthy ship-owner scrupulously discharges his port dues and putting forth on to

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the high seas, voyages to Vaṅga, to Takkola, Cīna, Sovīra, Suraṭṭha, Alasanda, Kolapaṭṭana, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, or some other part where shipping congregates". A Tamil epic called *Śilappadikāram* dating probably from the second century A.D. seems also to refer, in canto XIV, ll. 106-110, to some items like aloes, silks, sandal, spices and camphor coming from Toṇḍi, which seems to have lain in South-East Asia, perhaps in some parts of Malaysia.[49] The regional name Dvīpāntara which also seems to refer to Malaysia, occurs in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (VI, 57), to which I had invited attention in a previous work in 1934. It also occurs in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[50] and in the *Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon* compiled in the 7th-8th century by the Central Asian monk named Li-yen.[51]

The journey to this El Dorado of the East, whether undertaken by the land route or by sea, was attended with terrible risks. Notice has been taken of such hazards in the Pāli work *Niddesa*, which offers, in one section of its commentaries on the *Suttanipāta*, as briefly referred to above, an account of the frightful experiences of the gold-hungry adventurers. These tales describe how the adventurous merchants going by inaccessible land-route to amass wealth, had to cross the hurdles of meṇḍhapatha, Vetrādhāra, (vetrapatha), vaṃśapatha, ajapatha, daripatha, śakunapatha, jahnupatha, mūṣikapatha, śaṅkupatha, chhatrapatha etc. A story of this genre is described below.

"Sānudāsa joins the gang of the adventurer Ācera, who is preparing an expedition to the land of Gold (Suvarṇabhūmi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (vetra). This is the 'creepers' path.' On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is the 'bamboos' path' (vaṃśapatha). Further on, they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some kirātas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on these goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling

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giddy. This is the 'goats' path' (ajapatha). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty, as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Ācera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Ācera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there that the gold is : Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Ācera had foretold, but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river, the banks of which are of golden sand ; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out."[52]

There might have been certain elements of fancy and imagination in this story, but the hazards of the journey, even if partially true, must have been a frightful experience for the gold-seekers. There is no doubt that many adventurous people going in search of wealth in those far-off lands met their doom.

Journey by sea was perhaps comparatively easy, but it was not without its hazards. Apart from rampant piracy and hostile elements which infested the sea-belt of the Nicobars, the Strait of Malacca and the sea-lanes to the South of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, hurricanes often smashed the ships. Fa-hien has presented us with a graphic description of the hazards attending such a sea-voyage. In A.D. 414, the Chinese pilgrim sailed for the Far East in a merchant vessel. An account of his frightful experience in the seas may be described in the language of Fa-hien, as translated by Giles :[53]

".....When he had obtained these in Sanskrit (from Ceylon), he took passage on board a large merchant-vessel, on which there were over two hundred souls, and astern of which

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there was a smaller vessel in two, in case of accident at sea and destruction of the big vessel. Catching a fair wind, they sailed eastward for two days ; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak. The merchants were terrified, for death was close at hand ; and fearing that the vessel would fill, they promptly took what bulky goods there were and threw them into the sea. Fa-hien also took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into the sea ; but he was afraid that the merchants would throw over his books and his images, and accordingly fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan Yin, the Hearer of prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China, saying, 'I have journeyed far on behalf of the Faith. On that by your awful power you would grant me a safe return from my wanderings.

"The gale blew on for thirteen days and nights, when they arrived alongside of an island, and then, at ebb-tide, they saw the place where the vessel leaked and forthwith stopped it up, after which they again proceeded on their way.

"The sea is infested with pirates, to meet whom is death. The expanse of ocean is boundless, east and west are not distinguishable ; only by observation of the Sun, Moon and constellations is progress to be made. In cloudy and rainy weather, our vessel drifted to the mercy of the wind, without keeping any definite course. In the darkness of night, nothing was to be seen but the great waves beating upon one another and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea lizards, and such-like monsters of the deep. Then the merchants lost heart, not knowing whither they were going, and the sea being deep, without bottom, they had no place where they could cast their stone-anchor and stop. When the sky had cleared, they were able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course ; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

"And so they went on for more than ninety days until they reached a country named Java, where heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing, while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition.

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After having remained in the country for five months or so, Fa-hien again shipped on board another large merchant-vessel which also carried over two hundred persons....A North-East course was set in order to reach Canton.... Meanwhile, the sky was constantly darkened and the captain lost his reckoning. So they went on for seventy days until the provisions and water were nearly exhausted...."

The Indian sailors were however well aware of the dangers attending a sea-journey and they tried to improvise measures, as far as they could, to meet them.[54] The primitive methods of communication did not however always encourage people to sail from island to island in an uncharted sea. It is therefore more realistic to imagine that inter-communication among people of India and South-East Asia in the twilight of history must have proceeded along the coast-line of the mainland of Asia. In course of time greater familiarity with this area, higher efficiency attained in the plying of boats, discovery of the rhythm of the monsoons, construction of boats in water-tight compartments, coupled with superior knowledge of astronomy, enabled these bold sea-farers to sail across the high seas for far-off islands nursed by the seas. It is not, of course, possible to be dogmatic about these views, becuuse centuries, if not millenia, before the advent of Indians in the stage of South-East Asia, migrants belonging to what the philologists describe as Austronesian stock had fanned out in many islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is not impossible that the Indian merchants and adventurers, including both the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, had followed the same highway of the sea as was marked out for them by their Austronesian predecessors in the pre-historic period, but firm evidence for this hypothesis we have none. It is noteworthy however that Indian literature sometimes bears testimony to the high spirits of the Indian sailors and adventurers who dashed across the moving seas in the early centuries of the Christian era is their sailing ships. More definite information regarding sea-voyages between India and China through the sea-belt of South-East Asia is provided by the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. The account of Fa-hien's travels is

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not however of much help, because during his sea-voyage, which seems to have taken place between September 413 and June 414 A.D.,[55] his ship was caught in a hurricane after two days of his departure. The gale blew on for thirteen days and nights, and even after the repairing of the leaks, the vessel could not steer in the right direction. Fa-hien himself says: "In cloudy and rainy weather our vessel drifted at the mercy of the wind, without keeping any definite course." In this way the ship reached, after ninety days, the country called Ye-p'o-ti, which is generally believed to be Yavadvīpa (Java or Sumatra), though Braddell is inclined to equate it with North-West Borneo.[56] In any case, after he left Ye-p'o-ti, he was again caught in a hurricane and swept off his course. His travels do not therefore bear any satisfactory indication regarding the course of the route from India to China. More informative and useful is however the account of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. It appears from his *Memoir* that when the North-East monsoons began to blow, he started from Canton and reached (Shih-li) Fo-Shih i.e. Śrīvijaya in less than 20 days. Here he spent six months learning *śabdavidyā* i.e. Sanskrit grammar. From this place he left for Mo-lo-yu (Jambi), where he stayed for two months. The next point of his itinerary included Chieh-ch'a which has been identified with Kedah on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Sailing Northwards from Chieh-ch'a for more than ten days, I-tsing came to the Kingdom of the Naked people (Nicobar Islands). At the Nicobars, the route bifurcated. One branch led, in course of half a month, to Tan-mo-li-ti (Tāmralipti) at the mouth of the Hooghly river in West Bengal, while the other route brought travellers to Ceylon or Negapatam. The meagre account of his return to Śrīvijaya in 685 A.D., as described in the *Memoir*,[57] has been somewhat elaborated in another work of I-tsing. We thus read: "(Tāmralipti) is the place where we embark when returning to China. Sailing from here towards the South-East, in two months we come to Chieh-ch'a. By this time a ship from (Shih-li) Fo-shih will have arrived, generally in the first or second month of the year....We stay in Chieh-ch'a

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until winter, and then embark on a ship for the South. After a month we come to the country of Mo-lo-yu which has now become Fo-shih....We generally arrive in the first or second month. We stay there until mid-summer, when we sail to the North and reach Kuang-fu (Kuang-tung) in about a month. The voyage is completed by the end of the first half of the year."[58]

There were undoubtedly many Indians who sailed for South East Asia, at the dawn of history, by keeping in touch with the coast line of the mainland. It seems that these people were the original architects in the building up of Indianised States in Arakan, South Burma, Malay Peninsula, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia, Campā, etc. This does not mean that, in some places at least, they did not join hands with those who had trekked along the land-route. Those who left for Insulindia landed originally in the coastal and riparian regions of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo etc. It is not unreasonable to hold that in the early stages this journey might have been effected through the halting stations of the Malay Peninsula, but later, with bigger ships at the disposal of the travellers around the third or fourth century A.D. travellers might have cut across the Bay of Bengal and reached Insulindia via the Nicobar islands. Those who trekked along the land-routes were also responsible for the carving out of some colonies and kingdoms in Greater India. We can in this connexion readily recall the names of Khotan and other adjacent regions. We know from the Chinese annals that, in the second century B.C., Indo-Chinese commercial relationships had developed through North-Burma and Yunnan. Indeed, the province of Yunnan and contiguous areas of China were known, up to the thirteenth century, as Gandhāra-deśa in ancient Indian literature. According to a tradition of Yunnan, a son of emperor of Aśoka is credited with the establishment of a colony in this region. This land-route in North Eastern India must have seen much colonising activity in ancient times. It is through this or one of these land routes that the enterprising colonists moved to establish the Hindu kingdom of Ta-tsin in the east of the hill ranges

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bordering on Assam and Manipur. About 150 miles further to the East, another Hindu kingdom was set up to the North of Ngan-si, a town lying beyond the Chindwin river. As a matter of fact, the traditional history of Burma refers to a fight of Pañchāla-Kośala against the Śākya king of Koliya who was defeated and accordingly set out for Burma, where he established the first Burmese kingdom of Abhi Raja. Some later dynasties have traced descent from this North Indian king who came to Burma by the land-route. In this way, a number of Indianized settlements and kingdoms grew up in large parts of North Burma and received the first blessings of Indian civilisation. Some kingdoms also sprang up in Prome, Pagan, Tagaung and some other places in Central and Lower Burma, but in the establishments of a few of them the Indian immigrants coming by way of sea might have also played an important role.[59] The establishment of a Hindu kingdom in Laos in the heart of Indo-China was the first significant event in the dawn of Indo-China's history ; the trace of the foundation of another kingdom in Thailand is faintly visible, as she lifts her veil of obscurity. The establishment of another kingdom on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula in almost the same time is also attested by the Chinese annals. Ptolemy's Geography, which speaks of Iabadiou or Sabadiou (Yavadvīpa) and Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, which speaks of Yavadvīpa, indicate the emergence of Yavadvīpa as a State in Indonesia.

It is not however possible at the present state of our knowledge to connect the establishment of all these or the majority of these States as the result of one coordinated supreme effort on the part of the Indians. As far as the present indications go many of these States sprang up as a result of the colonising activities of the Indians in course of the first three centuries of the Christian era, but such organising activities seem to have been directed towards specific areas of South-East Asia and Insulindia, at different times. Even in the case of the Kauṇḍinyas, so far as Fu-nan, Bali and possibly Borneo Kalimantan are concerned, and regarding some of the Karo-Batak tribes of Sumatra with South-Indian

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names, it seems that their colonising activities spread over a long period, so that the question of major coordinated effort to establish a State or kingdom at a specific point of time does not arise.

I have just now referred to the case of the Karo-Batak tribes from Sumatra. They constitute a separate problem. Here, in the region of Simbiring, we come across the names of certain sections of the Karo-Batak people known as Coliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Berahman, Tekang and Pelavi. The names are certainly striking, as they doubtless refer to Cola, Pāṇḍya, Mālayālam, Brāhmaṇa, Dekan (Deccan) and Pallava. If we admit the equation of these names, the question still remains : when did these migrants come to Sumatra and how were they incorporated into the tribal organisation of the Karo-Bataks ? The number of Sanskrit words in the Batak language, the peculiarities of their hand-writing and their existence as an islet in the ocean of Muslim population offer us, in the context of their tradition and religion, a side-view regarding their contact with S. India. It is not possible to state definitely when these colonists from southern India settled down in Sumatra, but if a guess can be hazarded the Coliya, Pāṇḍya and other Indian elements of the Karo-Batak tribes came to Sumatra in one of the early waves of immigration from South India. The type of their script and reference to some of these people in the early inscriptions of Indonesia seem to point to an early date. Besides, the absorption of these immigrants into the frame-work of indigenous tribal life of central Sumatra must have consumed sufficient time. Unfortunately, the inscriptions referring to these immigrants belong to the island of Java, and not Sumatra, but their influx in both Sumatra and Java seem to have been at one time so heavy that they find specific mention in the inscriptions of Java. In the inscription of Kuṭi or Jaha, dated in 762 A.D.,[60] we read in the margin of plates no. 5, in the 3rd and 4th lines, the following :

"Cempa, Kling, Haryya, Singa, Gola, Cvalika, Malyala, Karnake, Reman, Kmir....."

We also learn from an inscription of king Airlangga (1019-1042 A.D.) that people of various countries came to his

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kingdom through ports situated on the river Brantas. Among the foreigners we come across the names of people hailing from Kling, Aryya, Gola, Singhala, Karṇāṭaka, Colika, Malayala, Paṇḍikira, Draviḍa, Campa, Reman and Kmir. These places obviously refer to Kaliṅga, Ārya,[61] Gauḍa, Siṃhala, Karṇāṭaka (Canara), Cola, Malabar, Pāṇḍya, Kera, Draviḍa, Campā, Remen and Khmer country. So we have precise inscriptional data bearing on the names of some people from South-India, Bengal and other places who went to Java, and naturally to other places of Indonesia, such as Sumatra, as the tribal names indicate, for commercial or other purposes. In this context, it appears surprising to a student of Indonesian history and culture that Tamil loan-words in Old-Javanese vocabulary are very meagre indeed. Even then, if we bring under one focus all available data bearing on the earliest phase of cultural contact between India and Indonesia, we have to admit, in a general way, that the Indians of Southern India played a dominant role in the colonisation of South-East Asia. This is also borne out by a study of the sculpture architecture and palaeography of this region. According to one interpretation of the Chinese data many people from Kaliṅga and its hinterland also started for the same destination. Kaliṅga lay, broadly speaking, between the Mahānadī and the Godavarī and it had an excellent sea-port near Paloura near Gopālpur in Orissa. Scholars are generally inclined to believe that the name Kaliṅga has been reflected in the terms Kling or Keling and even in the name Ho-ling (Kaliṅga) which, according to the Chinese evidence, appears to be a State in Java. If we accept the interpretation that Ho-ling or Po-ling is the same as Kaliṅga, it would appear that people starting from the ports of Kaliṅga played a prominent role in the colonising and commercial activities of the Indians in the seventh century A.D. We must however utter here a word of caution, as some other scholars have already done, regarding the use of the word Kaliṅga, Kling or Keling, which has been indiscriminately used, to denote not only the people of Kaliṅga but also Indians in general. The word has almost the same type of adventure as the Greek word Iyawones which

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was adopted into the Sanskrit language as Yavana. So, while it is not unlikely that the people of the region of Kaliṅga and its hinterland played a prominent role in the colonial activities of the seventh century, it is very difficult to be certain about it, particularly because the identification of Ho-ling or Po-ling with Kaliṅg has been called into question by some scholars.[61a] They believe it to stand for Valaing. Even if this be so, there is no doubt that many people of the Kaliṅga-region went to Java, where their number became so great that they found reference in inscriptions and literary records.

People from other parts of India have also participated in the establishment of Indian colonies or settlements in South-East Asia. Traditions current in Arakan, North Burma, Java, etc., point to different parts of India as the homeland of their royal families. In Arakan Yomas lived the Arakanese who, according to tradition, had 227 kings ruling from 2666 B.C. to 1782 A.D., when the land was annexed to Burma. The dates and the number of kings seem to be fantastic, but there may be something in the tradition that the kings were mostly of Indian origin. The Brāhmaṇic tradition in the later period is also reflected in the use of the word Candra with every name of Arakanese kings, specially from 783 to 957 A.D. It is not unlikely that the remote founders of the Arakanese royal families might have proceeded from northern or eastern India. The earliest traditions of Burma also refer to North India as the home-land of her original rulers. We learn from these traditions that there had once ensued a fight between the Pañcāla-Kośalas against the Śākya king of Koliya. The latter was worsted in the fight and fled to Burma. Here he founded what the Burmese Chronicles designate the kingdom of Abhi Raja, the first Burmese kingdom. It is stated that those who consider themselves to be real Burmans trace their descent from the Indian Śākya clan. The Tagaung kingdom is traditionally reported to have been established in about 900 B.C. The rulers of this kingdom ruled for 400 years. A new kingdom was established near Prome by a descendant of the last king of Tagaung. Dutta Paung of this line established his capital at Thiri Kettara i.e. Śrīkṣetra, which has

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been referred to by Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing in the form of Shi-li Cha-to-lo. According to Burmese Chronicles, it was established in 483 B.C. and 27 rulers ruled it for 578 years. Some kings bore names like Vikrama and Varman. What is the kernel of truth in this traditional history is difficult to judge at present, as archaeology and external evidence are not of much help. Similarly, the Aji Saka cycle of stories of Java represent a Brahmin of the name of Tritresta as responsible for the introduction of Indian religion and civilisation in Java ; this person was also the founder of a new era. So the people considered Tritresta to be the equal of Aji Saka, which, by the way, means King Saka, and cannot therefore be the proper name of a person. In any case, this Aji Saka has been described as the chief minister of the ruler of Astin or Hastinapura. He landed in the demon-infested land of Java and introduced therein Indian alphabets and the Saka era. In a later version of this story Aji Saka has been described as an inhabitant of Gujerat. If there be a grain of truth in this legend, it is natural for us to suppose that the region of Gujerat in western India also played some role in the establishment of Indian settlements in Java. In the charter of Plaosan, written in the Pre-Nagari script of Central Java and dated before the ninth century A.D., the Gurjaradesa has been specifically mentioned as a country wherefrom (spiritual preceptors ?), "bowed by the burden of the devotion to the Buddhas" continuously arrived. It is therefore quite conceivable that even if some aspects of the story of Aji Saka or Tritresta be not historical, there were many colonists or travellers from this part of India who shared in the colonising activities of Indians in South-East Asia in ancient times.

The question may now be asked from which ports did these Indian adventurers, merchants or religious teachers sail for South-East Asia ? Direct or indirect testimony to this fact is borne out by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, Chinese annals, the Archaeological remains of South-East Asia and partly by the palaeography of the inscriptions. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, compiled by an anonymous Graeco-Egyptian skipper in the

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second half of the first century A.D., describes, in the space of sixty six paragraphs, the most trustworthy account from antiquity regarding the coastal geography, ports, products and exports of the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately, his personal experience does not extend beyond Nelkynda on the Malabar coast (Periplus, paragraph 55), but his geographical knowledge beyond this point seems to have been procured from hearsay and second hand sources. Not so hazy is the account of Ptolemy in regard to the countries of South East Asia. Scholars are generally agreed regarding the identification of the Ptolemaic geographical names on the coast of India. This is particularly so in regard to the Gangetic delta. Thence, in an east ward direction, the Geography makes us familiar with the outstanding features of the sea belt of Peninsular South East Asia. Wheatley has demonstrated[62] that not much reliance can be placed on the latitude and longitudes furnished by Ptolemy, but once our obsession about these things are given up, there is not much difficulty in recognising, one after another, the Bay of Bengal, the Burmese deltas, the Gulf of Martaban, the Malay Peninsula, the Gulf of Siam, the river-system of Indo-China. Keeping these broad facts in mind, one can study the evidence of the *Periplus*, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and other ancient records. The *Periplus*(660) refers to Kamara (Ptolemy's Khaberos, mod. Kaveripaṭṭanam at the mouth of the river Kaveri), Podouke (near Pondicherry) and Sopatma (Markanam) as ports whence *kolandiophonta* set sail for the Golden Khersonese. Ths *apheterion* or the point of embarkation for ships in Ptolemy's *Geography* bound direct for Sada in southern Arakan was the deltaic region of the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari rivers.[63] It would appear from the evidence of the *Jatakas* that there were merchant parties occasionally starting for the Far East from Benares and Campa in the Valley of the Ganges ; they had commercial relations with Suvarnabhumi.[64] The ports on the western coast were Barygaza (Sec. 41. ancient Bharukaccha, mod. Broach), Surparaka (Sopara, near Bombay), Muciri (Greek Muziris, near mod. Cranganore).[65] Among ports on the eastern coasts, the most important ones were, besides Kaveri

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Paṭṭinam, Paloura or Dantapura near Chicacole in Orissa[66] and Tāmralipti (mod. Tamluk : the site has shifted) near the confluence of the Ganges and the sea.[67] As certain territorial areas or racial groups of Greater India are sometimes supposed to be named groups after the people who sailed from the ports located on the western and northern belt of the Bay of Bengal, the importance of these ports can be easily imagined. Ptolemy has told us that the sailing ships took off from Paloura and moved across the seas to Golden Khersonese. The ships starting from Tāmralipti proceeded, on the one hand, towards the western coast of India, via Ceylon, and, on the other hand, moved towards the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, Indonesia, either by keeping in close touch with the mainland, as far as possible, or by cutting across the high seas. Tāmralipti was a brisk port in the late seventh century A.D., when many Buddhist pilgrims used this port for entrance into and departure from India. R. C. Majumdar is however sceptical about direct voyage between South India and the Far East in the first century A.D.

The buoyant spirit of the Indian immigrants, who sailed from different ports of India, has given a distinctive stamp to the sculpture and monumental art of South-East Asia. The style of architecture and the pattern of sculpture sometimes enable us to trace the source of inspiration and the school to which it belonged. From this point of view of art, Indian influence seems to have spread out in four principal waves. These waves emanating from certain parts of India seem to indicate that Indians of certain localities took the leading part in certain epochs of our history in organising large groups of people for settlement in South-East Asia or for trading with the people of this region, or for other purposes. Their number was so great that the distinctive art of their homeland succeeded in leaving an indelible impress on the art of this vast area.

These principal waves are :

(1) The Amarāvatī wave (2nd-3rd century) ; its impact is comparatively faint.

(2) The Gupta wave (4th to 6th century A.D.). The

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traces of Gupta wave are to be found in the archaeological remains of Thailand and Burma, in ancient Cām and Khmer sculpture and in old Khmer architecture. The Gupta wave proceeded along the coast-line of South-East Asia : its destination was Burma-Thailand-Malay Peninsula-Campā-Kambuja (Cambodia). In Burma and Central Thailand, the first phase of Gupta influence is clearly noticeable, but in the later period Pāla-influence predominated in Burma and the northern part of Thailand. Indo-Javanese influence is clearly discernible in Campā and Kambuja, but the Malay Peninsula is the confluence of Gupta and Pallava art-traditions.

(3) The Pallava wave (c. 550-750 A.D.), though earlier traces are also available. The Pallava wave moved by way of the sea : its principal objective was Indonesia. It is circumscribed in Burma and Central Thailand, but its first impact is clearly visible in the Malay Peninsula, Java and Borneo.

(4) The Nālandā-Pāla wave (c. 750-900 A.D.). The Nālandā-Pāla wave proclaimed the victory of Mahāyāna specially in its Tāntric form, and left its imprint in Burma as well as Central and East Java. It revived its influence again in the 12th-13th century, but it was more or less an isolated phenomenon.

The four main waves of influence, as outlined above, are in line with the classification made by H. G. Q. Wales, but when he divides the Indianised colonies into two zones on the basis of the impact made by these four waves of influence, we are unable to concur with him. The two zones, according to him, are the western zone comprising Ceylon, Burma, Central Siam, Malay Peninsula and Sumatra and the eastern zone comprising mainly Java, Campā and Cambodia. According to him, there are also three marginal cultures to be found in Sunda, West Borneo and Pre-Majapahit Bali. He then postulates the theory that Indianization in the eastern zone was not as great as in the western zone. It is very difficult to subscribe to the view propounded by Wales in the present stage of our knowledge. Apart from the arbitrary nature of dividing S. E. Asia into two compact zones from the viewpoint

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of Indian and local influence.....indeed I would have liked to transfer some countries from the so-called "eastern zone" to the "western zone" and vice versa.....the lacunae in our knowledge of this region are still so great that, in spite of the labour of several generations of scholars in the field of art, archaeology, literature, social customs, etc. we hesitate to bring these countries into two distinct groups. It is also difficult to share his views regarding "the completely static character of the western zone arts, in which the Indian element reigned supreme and alone," as elements of "local creative force and personality", to borrow a phrase of M. Stern, were doubtless present in some measure in the "western zone", specially in Ceylon and Burma. The date on the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra are, in my view, still inadequate to support the thesis of Wales.[68]

Question has sometimes been raised regarding the reason for the influx of immigrants from India into South East Asia in ancient times. Some scholars have postulated the theory that mighty military movements of Samudragupta, Pulakesin II and Harṣavardhana pushed out many people from their homelands ; this in turn set in motion mighty trek of displaced people from India into the lands of South East Asia. It is difficult to accept this opinion, at least without serious reserve, because there is nothing to prove that political unrest in the home-country was responsible for mass-exodus to South-East Asia. It was also against the ideal of ancient Hindu state-craft. We should therefore like to postulate that the peace and tranquillity prevailing in the wide empires of the Guptas and the Pālas, as also in the empire of Harṣavardhana, provided the matrix for undreamt-of material prosperity and incentive to foreign trade and colonisation. To this was added the maritime tradition of the adventurous Pallava people of southern India and the Bengalees of eastern India. In this way adventurous people, merchants, preachers of the Buddhist religion, priestly class of the Brāhmaṇic persuasion and others got impetus to sail for South-East Asia.

We may conclude our studies of this section by quoting some eloquent lines from a work of R. C. Majumdar. He

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has stated :"[69] If literature can be regarded as a fair reflex of popular mind, trade and commerce must have been a supreme passion in India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, perhaps very much in the same way as it is in Europe to-day. The extraordinary routes mentioned above, together with the details of shipwreck and perils of the sea preserved in numerous stories, are but a faint echo of that romantic age of adventures and explorations. If the history of that wonderful epoch of new discoveries had been preserved to us, we might possibly present it as a not unworthy parallel of the similar period in modern age. We lay particular stress on this fact, as it is the background of our study of ancient Indian colonisation in the Far East."

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CHAPTER II

THE BRAHMANAS ON THE THRESHOLD OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND EARLY INDIAN SETTLEMENTS

The earliest records bearing on Malaysia, Indonesia and Indo-China, to give a generic name to the constituent post-war kingdom, republics, indicate the important role played by Indian Brāhmaṇas in the stupendous task of humanising and civilising a vast concourse of humanity living in this area. The Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas no doubt played their part well, but the dissemination of Indian culture seems to have been primarily done by the community of Indian Brāhmaṇas. Of known Brāhmaṇic clans, a branch of the Kauṇḍinyas of North India, which exerted considerable influence in the region of Mysore in the second century A.D. took a leading part in this mission. It is a significant fact that the first and second founders of Fu-nan bore the name of Kauṇḍinya and, according to the History of the Lian dynasty (502-56 A.D.), the family name of the king of Po-li or Bali was also the same,[2] while the progenitor of the dynasty of king Mūlavarman was a Kuṇḍuṅga[3], which also reminds us of the Kauṇḍinya clan of India. Other facets of the problems connected with the Kauṇḍinyas will be studied in connexion with the history of Bali. That this clan also played a significant role in the history of Malaya appears clearly from the fact that king Kauṇḍinya II of Fu-nan was a Brahmin from P'an-P'an, a State in the Malay Peninsula. There were hundreds of Brāhmaṇas of other clans and denominations who also participated in the process of Indianising many countries of South-East Asia. An imaginative expression of what possibly happened has been beautifully described by Winstedt, who says[4] : "A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and the rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars....Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and

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taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude....In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship, just as more than a thousand year ago Muslim Tamils married into the families of the Sultans and Bendahars of Malacca."

The question has sometimes been asked which of the three principal varṇas...the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas—as...contributed most to the foundation of Indian settlements in South-East Asia. So far as Indonesia is concerned, the point has been discussed by several prominent Dutch scholars. Berg[5] and Moens have put forward the Kṣatriya-theory, which postulates that the adventurous and the knight-errants of the Hindu Society were responsible for the foundation of the Hindu settlements in the Far East. This presupposes forcible seizure of lands and the creation of an administrative machinery suitable for the rulers and the ruled, the high-ups and the down-trodden. Krom,[6] on the other hand, demonstrated that native elements predominated both in organisation and administrative machinery of the State to such an extent that the conception of a population groaning under a foreign domination is clearly incompatible with it. So he answered the question of the conquest of the Archipelago by force of arms in the negative and postulated what has been described as the Vaiśya-hypothesis. Krom thinks that the process of Indianisation of the Archipelago is a measure of peaceful penetration which originated from the community of traders and merchants, who, after settlement, entered into matrimonial relations with the natives and propagated Indian culture through their good offices. Both these hypotheses have been challenged by Bosch[7] on the ground that neither any *praśasti*, which should have recorded a *digvijaya* in the usual Indian style nor a vaṃśāvali, which should have testified to the high Indian birth in the pedegree of the forbears, has anywhere been found. The virtual absence of Tamil and Prākṛt words from the classical languages of the Malayo Indonesian world and the occurrence of only pure Sanskrit words in such vocabulary indicate that the bearers of Indian culture should

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have primarily belonged to the learned class i. e. the Brāhmaṇas. Bosch has also posed the question from a different angle. He says: "For, when Hinduized settlements are mentioned for the first time, they turn out to be established far away in the interior of Borneo and western Java. And it is again in the interior, in the almost inaccessible plains of Kedu and Prambanan, on all sides enclosed by volcanoes, that, during the flourishing period of Central Java, the royal residence is to found. What, then, was the way in which the Indian traders came into contact with the Javanese kraton society? Did the king accompanied by the high dignitaries of his court, betake himself to the coast in order to be Hinduised there? Or did the merchants spare no pains in making frequent and toilsome journeys from the coast to the interior? Both these suppositions are unlikely." In answering this question Bosch has not taken into consideration one factor which has attracted people in all ages and climes, the allurement of gold and wealth of other types. In a Malayan state, this was the principal attraction for the Brahmins. The Brahmins who came "from different countries" to attend the *vahusuvarṇaka vrata* of king Mūlavarman or to celebrate the inauguration of a canal constructed by king Pūrṇavarman of West Java do not appear to be less worldly-minded than the Vaiśyas. Those who had crossed thousands of miles over the turbulent seas be they Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas were not likely to be frightened by the prospect of going to the interior to court the favour of the king, which alone could show them the way to prosperity. The argument of Bosch about Sanskrit words occupying a position of monopoly, to the exclusion of other Indian language, is highly instructive, and points unmistakably in the direction of the Brāhmaṇas as culture-bearers par excellence. The prominent place of the Brāhmaṇas in the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman in W. Java, of Canggal and Dinaja, underline this phenomenon. Bosch has well said: "Again and again, in Hindu-Indonesian civilisation we meet with elements of a theoretical and scholastic-character, elements which remind us of the manuscript, the code of law, the recluse's cell, the monastery, and which un-

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doubtedly are just as incompatible an environment of warriors or traders as they are in harmony with an intellectual sphere : with the classes of scribes, acholastics, initiates in the holy scriptures and legal sciences, in short all those whom, in the terminology of the Middle Ages, we are in the habit of calling clerks."

The remarks made above by Bosch hold good, I think for Campā and Kambuja as well, and is also largely true for Malaya. If the traditional account of Burma can be relied on in respect of the first phase of its colonisation, the Kṣatriyas played an important role in its colonisation. Even if all things are said in regard to all the communities who participated in the processes of Indianisation of the lands of South-East Asia, it would appear that the contribution of the Brahmins has been of far-reaching character. The rulers of many of these places also eager for a Brāhmanic consecration, which involved the utterance of mystic formulas and Sanskrit mantras which were unintelligible to them but which were pregnant with magic power, strengthened their dynasties in this way. The Brāhmaṇas who settled down in these lands and became the courtiers of such kings further consolidated these dynasties, on request or out of gratefulness, by pushing their genealogies back to the gods and epic heroes of India. The historical tradition of Indonesia and Malaysia in the late medieval and early modern period, when Islam held sway over this region, indicates similar rehabilitation of the rootless royal dynasties of this region.

The Brāhmaṇas also played a leading role in the Hinduization of Malaya. They took prominent part in various spheres of life in the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, where the arrangement for reception and protocol was elaborate. It has been recorded in the Chinese annals that when some accredited Chinese ambassadors reached the borders of Ch'ih-t'u, the "king sent the Brāhman Chiu-mo-lo with thirty ocean-going junks, to welcome them. Conches were blown and drums beaten to entertain the Sui envoys on their arrival and a metal cable was used as a hauser for Ch'ang-Chun's vessel. It took more than a month to reach the capital. The king sent his

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son Na-ya-chia to welcome Chang-Chun with appropriate ceremony. First he sent men to present a golden tray containing fragrant flowers, mirrors and golden forceps ; two containers for aromatic oil ; eight vases of scented water ; and four length of white folded cloth for the envoys to bathe with. On the same day at the hour of Wei (one to three p. m.) the Na-ya-chia again sent two elephants, bearing canopies of peacock feathers, to welcome the ambassadors, and a gilt-flowered, golden tray containing a decree. A hundred men and women sounded conches and drums and two Brāhmaṇas conducted the envoys to the royal palace. Ch'ang-Chun presented his credentials in the Council chamber, where those below the king were all seated. When the proclamation had been read, Ch'ang-Chun and his retinue were invited to sit while Indian music was played. When this came to an end, Ch'ang-Chun and his suite returned to their dwellings, and Brāhmaṇas were sent to offer them food. Large leaves, ten feet square, were used as platters....."[8] Such warm weleome was accorded to distinguished persons of other stations of life also. It may be recalled in this connexion that, while at Langkasuka, I-tsing was treated "with courtesy appropriate to distinguished guests".

The Brahmins in South-East Asia did not always function as priests or courtiers, though these appear to be their principal job. They have sometimes founded kingdoms. A revolt of Fu-nan was organised by a Brahmin from P'an-P'an in the late fourth century A.D. In P'an-P'an there were, as the Chinese annals tell us, "numerous Brāhmaṇas who came from India in search for wealth. They are in high favour with king."[9] Many of them obviously became naturalised citizens of the country of their adoption. In Tun-Sun, an important State on the eastern coast of Malaya, we find, for instance, many Brāhmaṇas at the royal court. The T'ai-p'ing Yu Lan, which was compiled between A.D. 977 and 983 quotes from an earlier work called Nan-Shih, tells us : "There are 500 families of Hu from India, two fo-t'u[10] and more than a thousand Indian Brāhmaṇas. The people of Tun-Sun practise their doctrine and give them their

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daughters in marriage ; consequently many of the Brāhmaṇas do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers, and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night."[11] This State was already an important one in the sixth century A.D., because the History of the Liang Dynasty (A. D. 502-556) states : "To its market people come from East and West, and it is visited daily by more than 10,000 men."[12] We have elsewhere drawn attention to the huge congregation of Brahmins in the court of Ch'ih-t'u, where "several hundred Brāhmaṇs sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides." These details leave a strong presumption in favour of the idea that Indian settlements in various places of South-East Asia, partook of the nature of *kampong klings* i.e. settlements of Indian functional groups in particular localities. If the case in the kingdom of Ch-ih-t'u be deemed to be the general pattern of colonisation in South-East Asia, it may be admitted that there were various functional groups operating in or in the vicinity of the inland capital city, while the case of Takua Pa and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat would indicate the existence of such settlements in the harbour-areas of some States. It may be recalled in this connexion that when the Brantas river burst its banks at Varingin Sapta (modern Vringin Pitu) and caused great havoc, king Airlangga of Java (A.D. 1019-1042) erected a dam to repair the damage, and this caused great joy to the foreign merchants and captains of ships who thronged the port of Hujung Galuh which lay, as appears from the context, at the mouth of the Brantas rivers i.e. at the place where modern Surabaya lies or in its vicinity. This also pleads for a type of *kumpong kling*. The earliest States were not large in size. According to the Chinese testimony, the Isthmian part of the Malay Peninsula had about a dozen States, while Java had thirty-two at one time. One may also recall the extent of the kingdom of king Pūrṇavarman on the basis of the distribution of his inscriptions.

It is obvious that the taboo of sea-voyages did not deter the Brahmins, not to speak of other Hindus, from undertaking such voyages which involved, according to Baudhāyana, a

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penance of three years.[13] Those who broke such religious injunctions were not likely or be scrupulous about marriage with native women, as Chinese annals clearly attest. The result of this intermarriage can even now be discerned in the racial features of some people on either coast of Malaya. In the flourishing port of Takua Pa in the western coast of Malaya, Indians had obviously settled down in large numbers, so that persons of the Indian cast of features are common even now-a-days. Wales, who has made this observation, has noticed the same phenomenon on the eastern coast. He observes :[14] "Apart from the stone relics of the past, there still exists in the Bay of Bandon region a living link with the early days of Indian colonisation.....beyond the watershed there are still a number of families at Patalung and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat in whose vein runs the blood of Brāhmaṇas from India ; though since no female Brāhmaṇa ever accompanied the men, it follows that the Indian strain is somewhat attenuated. At Patalung the Brāhmaṇas seem to be on the verge of melting into the Siamese peasant stock, which forms the main element of the population, because they never perform any ceremonial functions ; but at Nakhen Sri Dhammarat they still have three little temples....."Competent observers have also stated that that the Balinese padaṇḍas of the present day possibly also bear in their vein the blood of the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas. While all these things may be true, we should not lose sight of the fact that India is a veritable museum of races, in which the dolichocephalic types of South India and the Brachycephalic types of the North, together with other racial elements, may provide models for several racial groups of South-East Asia.

The position of the Brāhmaṇas was sometimes assailed by the Buddhists, specially when they became predominant in kingdoms where the sovereign had accepted the Buddhist faith. In a multi-religious State like Ch'ih-t'u, the position of the Brahmins has thus been assessed in the Chinese annals of the seventh century A.D. : "It is the custom to worship the Buddha but greater respect is paid to the Brāhmaṇas". The Brāhmaṇas functioned not only as courtiers but also as

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civil servants of some States. In Tan-Tan the king had eight high officers known as Pa-Tso who were Brāhmaṇas.[15] Officers at the court of Ch'ih-t'u had elaborate functions, and if the equation of the Chinese transcription by Coedes be correct, it would appear that all of them bore Sanskrit titles, e.g. sa-t'o-chia-lo : sādhukāra i.e. benefactor or preferably sārdha-kāra assistant ; t'o-na-ta-ch'a : dhanada i.e. dispenser of blessings, a title that also occurs on a seal from Oc-Eo ; chia-li-mi-chia : karmika or agent ; chu-lo-mo-ti : kulapati i. e. head of the house, which title also occurs in Cambodian inscriptions in the sense of superior of a religious institutions ; na-ya-chia : nāyaka or guide, which title is also found in an inscription from Lopburi ; po-ti, Skt : Pati, chief. The last two titles are often met with in Old Javanese inscriptions in the sense of petty officers.[17] If the functions of these officials are analysed, it would appear..... provided the interpretation of these terms by Coèdes is correct.....that at least some of them belonged to the caste of Brahmins. The data from ancient Malaya do not help us to resolve the riddle posed by Brāhmaṇic and Kṣatriya traditions of India regarding the relative status of the two highest castes in the social hierarchy of ancient India, in Old-Javanese inscriptions, the Brāhamaṇas head the list of caste-enumeration. This position seems to be confirmed, in reality, by some of the earliest inscriptions of Java, such as the Tugu Rock inscription, the inscription of king Sañjaya (Canggal), the Stone of Kañjuruha, etc. In connexion with his study of the Canggal inscription, Bosch pointed out that there was a close connexion between the Śiva-liṅga, the reigning dynasty and the foremost Brāhmaṇa. According to this theory, the king appears on earth in the place of Śiva and his royal prowess is personified in the liṅga. The Brāhmaṇa who is the mediator receives this ore-liṅga of Śiva and presents it as a palladium to the founder of the dynasty. Bosch has demonstrated that this tradition was current not only in Java, but also in Campā and Kambaja.[18] We can thus reasonably conclude that the Brāhmaṇas were the culture-bearers par excellence and that they constituted the most important element in the Indian community of South-

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East Asia in the earliest phase of its development. The indigenous wives of the Indian settlers played a useful role in the dissemination of Indian culture in the area they settled in. This process was facilitated by the glamour of a superior culture which manifested itself in the supernatural and magical power of writing, the attractive quality of Indian merchandise, the *mantras* and charms of magical import, religious festivities and rituals of supernatural significance. These things combined to awaken a sense of awe and respect in the superstitious mind of the native population who had very few of these. Their awe and wonder helped in the propagation of Indian culture. We hear faint echo of such supernaturalism in the earliest traditions preserved in these countries. One such tradition is recorded in the Chinese annals about the kingdom called Langkasuka which lay on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula. About this kingdom we read in the annals of the Liang Dynasty (A. D. 502-556) :[19]

"The people of this country say that their State was founded more than 400 years ago (A. D. 100), but that it got weaker under its successors ; and as there was among the relations of the king one who was an excellent man, the people turned towards him. When the king heard of this, he put him into prison, but his chains snapped spontaneously. On this the king thought him to be a supernatural being and dared not hurt him any more, but only drove him from his territory, whence he took refuge to India, and was married there to the eldest daughter (of its king). When all on a sudden the king of Langkiasu died, the great officers called back the prince and made him king. He died more than 20 years later, and was succeeded by his son Bhagadato".

The Chinese annals have recorded in unambiguous terms that the relative of the king was a 'supernatural being'. That is why his 'chains snapped spontaneously' when he was put in imprisonment by the king. We also seem to see in the sudden death of the king the expression of divine wrath. Secondly, when he was driven from his country, he set off for India, the land par excellence, the source from which all supernatural power is derived. He even married there a

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princess of that country, thereby further strengthening his position. So, when the king of Langkiasu died suddenly, the royal officers could not find a better person than the exiled royal relative to ascend the vacant throne, because by going to India and marrying a pincess of that country he had substantially enhanced his power and prestige. We do not know if the sovereign elect was accompanied by the Indian princess, but even if he was not, he had acquired all the qualifications necessary to ascend on the throne of a superstitious country with a primitive civilisation.

Similar is the story regarding the foundation of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan in Cambodia or Kambuja. This story is perhaps more edifying than the one just described above. The story is recorded by a Chinese named K'ang T'ai who flourished in the third century A. D. He says :[20]

"The sovereign of Fu-nan was originally a female called Lieu-ye. There was a person called Huen-chen of Ho-fu. He was a staunch devotee of a Brāhmaṇical god was pleased with his piety. He dreamt that the god gave him a divine bow and asked him to take to sea in a trading vessel. In the morning he went to the temple of the god and found a bow. Then he embarked on a trading vessel and the god changed the course of wind in such a manner that he came to Fu-nan. Lieu-ye came in a boat to plunder the vessel. Huen-chen raised his bow and shot an arrow which pierced through the queen's boat from one side to the other. The queen was overtaken by fear and submitted to him. Thereupon Huen-chen ruled over the country."

The supernatural being whom we meet in the kingdom of Langkiasu whose son bore the Sanskritic name Bhagadato (the correct form should be Bhagadatta), had his Fu-nan counterpart in Huen-T'ien. The name is also spelt as Huen-huei or Huen-chen. This name is generally considered to be the Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit name Kauṇḍinya. Coedès says that this story regarding the origin of the Fu-nan royal dynasty is the corrupt Chinese version of an Indian story. He says that a more trustworthy version of this story is related in a later Sanskrit inscription of Campā, from which

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we come to learn that Kauṇḍinya, after accepting the spear of Aśvatthāman, son of Drona, proceeded towards his prospective capital and after marrying the Nāga princess Somā founded a new royal dynasty.[21]

All such phenomena indicate that, along with other factors to which attention has already been invited, the supernatural or magical element also, played a significant role in the introduction of Indian culture in Greater India. The Kauṇḍinya-Brāhmaṇas, to whom reference has been made above, showed themselves to have possessed this supernatural power, worked on the superstition of the local people, and aided by other favourable circumstances, gained the upper hand. Along with or in the wake of these Kauṇḍinya-Brāhmaṇas was also introduced the cult of Agastya, in Greater India. It is not without significance that Agastya, who was highly venerated in ancient Indonesia and has been extensively referred to in her literature and inscriptions, is considered to be the patron saint of Tamil-culture. Indeed the worship of Śiva and his chief devotee Agastya unites in a cultural and spiritual mesh the far-flung terrain of South-India, Campā, Cambodiya and Indonesia.

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CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA

The veil of obscurity which had shrouded the lands of South-East Asia at the dawn of its history gradually lifts itself. The stage is thus set for the emergence of Iabadieu or Sabadieu of Ptolemy,[1] the Yavadvīpa of Vālmikī,[2] the Ye-T'iao[3] and Cho-p'o[4] of the Chinese annalists and Ye-P'o-T'i of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien.[5] Scholars are not however unanimous regarding the location of these place-names. Even if we assume that these places or some of them do not refer to the Malay Peninsula[6] or to Borneo,[7] for which there are advocates the names cannot even then be definitely identified with Java, as Sumatra or a part of it was known in ancient times as Java,[8] and the Arab geographers and sailors have applied the name rather indiscriminately to both Java and Sumatra. Most of the scholars have therefore understood the above-mentioned bunch of names in the sense of Java or Java-Sumatra. From some part of this island-complex, king Tiao-Pien or Devavarman sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 132 A.D.[9] Thereafter a dark period descends on the political history of Java (-Sumatra) which is not relieved till we come to the time of king Pūrṇavarman of West Java, who seems to have flourished towards the middle of the 5th century A.D. A set of four rock-inscriptions acquaint us with the genealogy of king Pūrṇavarman, described as Lord of Tārūma, whose father and grandfather were respectively called Rājādhirāja and Rājarṣi.[10] It is not unlikely that Fa-hien, who set sail for China in the year 414 A.D., might have been driven by hurricane to the kingdom of Pūrṇavarman's father or grandfather. The inscriptians, written in Sanskrit but in Pallava-Grantha character, leave the impression of a Hinduized kingdom in the western part of Java. The introduction of Hinduism in the eastern part of

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Java must have also occurred at about the same time as the inscription of Rambipuji, also written in Pallava-Grantha character of approximately the 5th century A.D., testifies.[11] For long time after Pūrṇavarman, we hardly know anything about Java, but life nowhere remains static. Before the emergence of Central Java as powerful factor in the cultural history of the 7th century A.D., we come across the names of some new States, such as Chö-p'o and Ho-lo-tan, but their exact location is a matter of conjecture.[12] If Chö-p'o by the same as Java, as is generally believed, it was visited by Prince Guṇavarman of Ki-pin or Kāśmīr[13] who succeeded in converting the king and the queen of that country to Buddhism before he left for China in 424 A.D.[14] Regarding Ho-lo-tan, this much is known that it held sway over Chö-p'o.

The New History of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.) ushers in the name of a new kingdom called Ho-ling,[15] which is usually located in Central Java, but champions are not wanting to place it in the Malay Peninsula.[16] Ho-ling had hitherto been supposed to be the Chinese transcription for Kaliṅga, but this view has recently been challenged by some scholars. Damais[17] has objected to the equation and has sought to reconstruct Javanese history between 640 and 856 A.D. on the basis of new interpretation of the evidence. He says that Ho-ling stands for Valaing or Valeng, which occurs in serval inscriptions of Java and stands for the plateau now known as Ratu Baka. A village of that name is to be found in Kalupaten of Vanagiri about 80 kilometers to the east of Ratu Baka. It has been supposed that there was a struggle between the royal families of Java and Valaing, in which the latter gained the upper hand and hence the name Chö-p'o was not used in the Chinese annals. This position was maintained between 640 and 818 A.D. Java, however, turned the table after about forty years. Inscriptions from Java show that, about 856 A.D., the kingdom of Java again became paramount and its kings, Tryamvakaliṅga and Kṛttikavasaliṅga assumed the titles of Valaiṅgagopetṛ and Vilaiṅgagoptṛ. They were helped by a sage called Kumbhayoni.

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Now, whether one identifies Ho-ling with Valaing or treats them as separate states, there is no doubt that the emergence of Ho-ling was an important event for the cultivation of Buddhist scholarship. We are told that the Chinese pilgrim Hui-ning broke his journey here, on his way to India, in 664-65 A.D. and undertook scholarly work for three years. In collaboration with the native scholar named Joh-na-poh-t'o-lo, which name corresponds to the Sanskrit name Jñānabhadra, he translated here some Buddhist texts into Chinese.[18] The political greatness of Central Java is however due to the emergence of the dynasty of king Sanna, also called Sannāha or Sena, whose more famous son Sañjaya is reported to be a great conqueror. The latter installed a Śivaliṅga on Mt. Vukir in 732 A.D.[19] There is a gap in our knowledge of Central Java for some years till we find the Śailendras firmly established therein.

Various theories have been propounded regarding the origin of the Śailendra dynasty. These have been well summed up by K. A. Nilkanta Sastri[20] and need not be discussed here in detail. Saffice it to mention here that the origin of the Śailendras cannot be definitely connected with any of the known dynasties of Kaliṅga, South India or Fu-nan, nor with Ur-Indonesian ideas about divinity later on Hinduized.[21] I naturally hesitate to add another theory to the several already existing, specially as finality cannot be reached with the available data, but believing that discussion of all points of view may ultimately lead to a reasonable solution of the problem, my views on the subject are formulated below.

Śailendra means 'Lord of the Mountains' and this is another name of Śiva. An image of this Śiva (Śailendra) in his liṅga-form was installed by king Sañjaya, the immediate predecessor of king Paṇaṃkaraṇa (according to the Kèdu charter), on the Vukir hill. Being placed atop a hill, this liṅga is veritably a Śailendra or Lord of the Mountain in both conventional and symbolic sense. King Sañjaya who was a mighty conqueror established this symbol of Śiva-Śailendra

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for the peace of the country. Indeed, the opening śloka of the Caṅgal inscription refers to the fact that king Sañjaya established "on the hill a liṅga with (all) auspicious marks for obtaining tranquility". Does the disturbed condition of the country refer to the military movements of Sena and Sañjaya or to the explosive question of religion which seem to have been convulsing the people all the time? If there is any kernel of truth in a work of dubious authority, the *Carita parahyangan*,[22] it would appear that Sañjaya had a son called Panaraban and there was considerable dissension in the family or in the country over the question of religion. Poerbatjaraka has stated that, when written in Javanese characters, there would hardly be any difference between Panaraban and Paṇaṃkaraṇa. The *Carita Parahyangan* indeed says, "Says Rahyang Sañjaya, instructing his son R. Panaraban i.e. R. Tamperan, 'I request you not to follow my religion, because, I am afraid of many people'." In view of the desire of "many people", who were apparently agitating for the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism of the Śrīvijaya school, Paṇaṃkaraṇa adopted this faith. It seems that Paṇaṃkaraṇa's rule over Central Java induced other members of the family of Sañjaya to shift to the East. The Chinese annals also tell us that between 742 and 755 A.D., the capital of Ho-ling was transferred from Chö-P'o to Po-lou-kia-sseu in the East.[23] It is not impossible that the transfer of the capital took place under the leadership of Gajayāna, who has been identified with Ki-yen[24] of the Chinese annals.

The conversion of Panaraban-Paṇaṃkaraṇa brought about some fundamental changes in his life and must have necessitated, according to traditional Javanese custom, a change in his name. If this be admitted, it would much better explain facts if we assume that he adopted the name of Indra on this occasion. It is very likely that he has been referred to as Śrīvijayendrarāja (Śrīvijaya+Indrarāja=king Indra of Śrīvijaya) in Face A of the Ligor inscription. His other names were possibly Viṣṇu (Face B, Ligor ins.) and Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya (Kelurak ins.)[24a] His authority therefore

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extended over Śrīvijaya, some parts of Malaya and the home State of Central Java. His principal capital seems to have lain in one of the hill-features of Barabudur,[24b] but the palace made of wood has disappeared. Indra seems to have been succeeded by Dharmmottuṅgadeva (Ratu Baka), called simply Uttuṅgadeva in the Plaosan inscription.[24c] King Indra was such an outstanding figure that he was apotheosised during the reign of Samarottuṅga, as the Karangtengah inscription tells us.[24d] It may be recalled that the opening verses of this inscription refer to an image of Buddha in vajraparyaṅka-attitude on the top of the hill (śailastha), which obviously to refers the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. It is well-known that the stūpa of Barabudur was fashioned out of a hill and since Indra was apotheosised here we find here both śaila and Indra= Śailendra in one combination. He was thus the founder of the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty of Indonesia.[25]

There is nothing inherently improbable in the new interpretation of facts. The familiar Śalendra title of Śri Mahārāja is first assumed by rakai Paṇaṃkaraṇa to mark a break with the past in various ways. Thus, while the Indonesian *ratu*-title has been affixed before the name of king Sañjaya in the Kèdu charter, all other succeeding kings have been designated therein with the title of Śrī Mahārāja : the distinction seems to be deliberate. Apart from religion and royal title, the use of Pre-Nāgarī script in the Śailendra charters of Central Java is also significant. When considered separately, all these phenomena seem to be significant, but viewed conjointly they represent a deliberate effort to break with the past.

We should however emphasise once again that the views formulated above regarding the origin of the Śailendra dynasty must be considered a tentative one, as some parts of the data are of indifferent quality. They however seem to me to fit into the framework of political history of the time.

The Śailendras ruled in Central Java for about a century or a little more,[25] after which there was a Hindu revival, but the period of its greatness was soon to be over, as the centre of political gravity definitely shifts to East Java with the

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accession of king Siṇḍok in 929 A. D. One of the successors of king Siṇḍok was king Dharmmavaṃśa (991-1007 A.D.), but unfortunately his relationship with the previous rulers is not quite clear. He was a great patron of literature, but a great catastrophe involved Dharmmavaṃśa and his kingdom in a common ruin. The Calcutta praśasti of Airlangga says[26] : "Then the flourishing capital city, which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment, was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in 1007 A. D." By 1019 A. D., Airlangga, the son-in-law of Dharmmavaṃśa, recaptured his father-in-law's kingdom and ruled till 1042 A.D.[27] Thereafter he seems to have led the life of an ascetic, but before his death he divided the kingdom between his two sons, who seem to have resolved on a civil war for the patrimony. Thus arose the kingdoms of Pañjalu and Janggala, the former representing the western part of the kingdom and Janggala the eastern part. The capital of the western kingdom was Kaḍiri or Daha and it became the dominant power in Java, at least from the 12th century A. D. Janggala seems to have gradually disintegrated. The Kaḍiri-rulers were great patrons of literature, of whom the foremost ones were Jayavarṣa (or Varṣajaya), Kāmeśvara (I or II) and Jayabhaya. The last king of the Kadiri dynasty was Kṛtajaya who was ousted by the chief of Tumapèl.

The original name of the chief of Tumapèl was Angrok, who seems to have been the son of a peasant of Pangkur. He became a highway robber, until he entered the service of Tunggal Amètung, the governor of Tumāpèi. Here he killed the governor and married his widow queen Dèḍès. Gathering power, he defeated the ruler of Kadiri at the battle of Gantèr in 1222 A. D. The assumption of sovereignty by Ken Angrok under the coronation name of Rājasa meant the unification of eastern Java, which was lost after the death of king Airlangga. The new kingdom came to be known as the kingdom of Singasari after its capital. The first three kings of the dynasty died violent deaths. The fourth king of the dynasty was Viṣṇuvardhana who died at Mandaragiri in 1268 A. D. He was the only king of Singasari to die a natural death.

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His son and successor was Kṛtanagara, whose reign was an eventful one in both home and foreign politics. He ushered in a period of imperialism, but his internal administration does not appear to have been marked by foresight. He was a learned man and convinced follower of Buddhist Tāntrism. He incurred the wrath of the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan by mutilating the face of his envoy. The History of the Yuan dynasty gives us an account of the Chinese expedition to Java and this is supplemented by the biography of three leaders of the expedition.[28] The expedition left Ch'uan-cheu in the 12th month of 1292 A.D. and reached the port of Tuban on the northern coasts of East Java early in 1293, but, before the Chinese could fight against Kṛtanagara, an internal revolution led by Jayakatvang had removed the Singasari-king from this world. Before the Chinese left Java, they however killed Jayakatvang and his son.

Prince Vijaya, who was playing a double game, now finding that Jayakatvang and his son were already dead, had no longer any need for help from the Chinese. He now seized the crown and ascended on the throne of Java under the title Kṛtarājasa Jayaviṣṇuvardhana. Majapahit which had played vital role in the days of turmoil during 1292-93 became the nerve-centre of what came to be known as the Majapahit empire. The king died in 1309 and was succeeded by his son Jayanagar, whose reign was full of troubles, and these brought into the front-line a warrior and administrator of exceptional quality. His name was Gajah Mada, who became the Prime Minister of the kingdom in 1331. Jayanagar met a violent death and, as he had no male heir, the nearest heiress was Rājapatnī, the daughter of Kṛtanagara and widow of Kṛtarājasa. As Rājapatnī had become a Buddhist nun, her eldest daughter Tribhuvanottuṅgadevī Jayaviṣṇuvardhanī acted as regent. After 1331, Gajah Mada converted the kingdom of Majapahit into a large empire by his military achievements. After the death of Rājapatnī in 1350, Prince Hayam Vuruk, the son of the regent Tribhuvanottuṅgadevi, ascended on the throne of Java at the age of 16 and assumed the name Rājasanagara. The empire of Majapahit saw its palmy days

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during the reign of Hayam Vuruk (1350-889 A.D.). after which the period of its decline set in. The last Hindu king of East Java, of whom we possess some authentic details, is Girīndravardhana Raṇavijaya. In 1486 A.D. he offered a sacrifice in honour of his father who had died 12 years earlier. By the first quarter of the 16th century, both Hinduism and Hindu authority were engulfed by the flood of Muslim invasion.

But the neighbouring island of Bali escaped this cruel fate. It came to be known to the Chinese under the name of P'o-li or Ma-li. The earliest account of P'o-li is given in the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (502-56 A.D.), where we read the following regarding the king : [29]

"The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country. The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body ; on his head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various precious stones (*saptа ratna* or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on a silver footstool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding chowries of white feathers or fans of peacock-feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood, is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers, and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him. "The family-name Kauṇḍinya seems to indicate that the ruler belonged to a Brahmin family which had possibly migrated from Southern India, may be at about the same time when the Kauṇḍinyas of Fu-nan had also left the shores of India. If so, the Kauṇḍinya of P'o-li must have been a descendant of the migrating clan-members. In any case, the civilisation represented in the account of the Chinese was fairly high and symbolised the growth of at least one

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century. On the basis of the present data, the starting of Hinduization of Bali would approximately belong to the same period as the second Hinduization of Fu-nan by Kauṇḍinya II. If so, one should be pardoned if he is tempted to link up the two streams of influx in Fu-nan and P'o-li. In this context, it is not less striking to think that Kunḍuṅga, the progenitor of the dynasty of king Mūlavarman of Borneo, also bore a name reminiscent of the name of Kauṇḍinya and belonging to the time when the Kauṇḍinyas were already scouring the seas for a place under the Sun of South-East Asia. The data furnished by the History of the Liang Dynasty are not however adequate regarding the religion of the country. The statement that "the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country" would not entitle us to think that the immigrants professed Buddhism.

The kingdom sent an embassy to China in 518 and 523 A.D. but in the Sui period (518-617 A.D.), only one embassy was sent to China in 616.

Bali was a place where Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya flourished in the days of I-tsing. Although we do not know much regarding the early culture of Bali, it seems that much of it was the result of direct influence from India. The first noteworthy king of Bali known from inscriptions was Ugrasena, who ruled between 915 and 942 A.D. from the capital Simhamandava or Simhadvalapura. Of several rulers of the succeeding Varmadeva dynasty bearing Sanskrit names, we know the names of Keśarīvarmadeva (c. 913 A. D.),[30] Tabanendravarmadeva and Subhadrikāvarmadevī (955 and 967 A.D.)' Candrabhayasinghavarmadeva (962 A.D.), Janasādhuvarmadeva (975 A. D.), Śrīvijayamahādevī (983), and Dharmodayanavarmadeva (989-1011 A.D.). The titles indicate that the rulers considered themselves to be scions of the Kṣatriya family.

The earlier inscriptions are written in Old-Balinese interspersed with many Sanskrit words. From the beginning of the 11th century, inscriptions begin to appear in Old-Javanese ; this becomes the normal feature from 11th century onwards and indicates the projection of strong Indo-Javanese

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Influence on Bali. It is a very difficult task to disentangle the Indo-Javanese-Balinese strand from the earlier Indo-Balinese one. In any case, the Indo-Javanese influence on Bali is clearly attested by contemporary inscriptions. The close social tie is only one aspect of it. We know that the Javanese princess Mahendradattā alias Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, daughter of Makuṭavaṃśavardhana, had married Dharmodayanavarmadeva of Bali. This Udayana, to use his shorter name, might have been either a Balinese Prince, as is generally believed, or a Javanese chieftain who had assumed a Varmadeva title in conformity with the practices of the Balinese royal house. His identification with Udayāditya Varman I of Cambodia by Bosch seems to be interesting but has yet to commend general acceptance[30] In any case, the marriage of Mahendradattā and Udayana facilitated the introduction of Indo-Javanese culture in Bali. The issue of this marriage was Airlangga, who married a daughter of the East Javanese king Dharmmavaṃsa and later on became his successor to the throne of East-Java. His younger brothers or half-brothers ruled in Bali till 1077 A. D. Regarding subsequent kings of Bali, we know hardly anything more than their names, which are, as usual, coached in Sanskrit. It seems however that after the death of king Airlangga, Balinese princes ruled as independent potentates. In the first part of the 13th century, Bali passed under Javanese hegemony again, because, according to the testimony of Chau Ju-kua, Bali was among the fifteen vassal States of Java. After the fall of Kaḍiri in 1222 A. D., she seems to have snapped the bond of yoke, because Parameśvara Śrī Hyang ning hyang Adilañcana bore a title signifying political independence. But this spell of independence was of short duration, as king Kṛtanagara of Java sent a military expedition to Bali in 1284 A.D. and imprisoned the king. The death of Kṛtanagara in 1292, however, signalised the reassertion of Balinese independence, but this was again quenched in blood in the Javanese military expedition of 1343 A.D., in which Gajah Mada distinguished himself. According to tradition preserved in the *Pamañcangah*, the

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first capital was set up at Samprangan (about mod. Gianyar), but *Usana Java* describes the place to be Gelgel. These were the greatest days of Majapahitan imperialism ; it ensured rapid transformation of Bali under the impact of Indo-Javanese influences which had started infiltrating into Bali since the 11th century. Indeed, it is clear from the decrees of 1394 and 1398[31] that Bali was still a dependency at the close of the 14th century A.D. If we now look back upon the History of Bali during the fourteenth century, we can say that the year 1343 was a turning point in the History of Bali, as it ensured a period of full Indo-Javanese-Balinese cultural synthesis and thereby provided a matrix for a refugee civilisation from Java after the Muslim conquest.

In course of time, a descendant of the royal family of Majapahit which had migrated to Bali made himself master of the island and assumed the title of Deva-agung Ketut. He and his successors ruled the island till the 17th century. The capital was probably shifted from Samprangan to Gelgel as early as the second or third generation.[32] Of the rulers of Gelgel, the most prominent one was Batu-Renggong who ruled in the third quarter of the 16th century A.D. The famous scholar Nirartha, a Javanese Brahmin (also called Pèdanda Vau Rauh and Dvijendra), came to the court of Gelgel about 1550 A.D. and composed there a large number of poems.[33] Between 1650 and 1686 A.D., the people of Karangasem destroyed the capital, which was then removed to Klung-kung. For administrative convenience, Bali was divided during this time into several districts, viz. Klungkung Karangasem, Mengui, Badong, Bangali, Tabanan, Gianjar, Buleleng and Jembrana. The governors of these districts virtually became autonomous and fought amongst themselves till the Dutch gradually extended their sway over the whole island. In 1849, northern Bali was forced to recognise Dutch authority and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Government of Nederlands East Indies. When Deva-agung of Klungkung, the last heir of the Majapahit emperors, was defeated by the Dutch in 1908 A.D. the dynasty came to an end and Klungkung was officially

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incorporated into the Dutch empire in 1911. In 1946, Bali was made part of the Federal State of East Indonesia, but in August 1950 the whole bunch of islands, except Philippines in the North and parts of Borneo, were incorporated into the unitary Republic of Indonesia. It has also established its authority over some parts of New Guinea under the name of West Irian.

Another island linked up with the history of Java is the island of Sumatra. The earliest history of this island is enveloped in the mist of controversy raging round the question whether the place-names bearing on Yavadvīpa should refer to Java or Sumatra, Java-Sumatra or any other place. No solution to this problem is yet in sight. Chinese annals from the third century A.D., however, refer to the existence of an important settlement called Ko-ying in the south-eastern part of Sumatra and it had close commercial relations with India.[34] Uncertainty also dogs the footsteps of the historian when he seeks to identify another place of the Southern Seas bearing the name of Kan-t'o-li.[35] While some are inclined to place it in the island of Sumatra,[36] others prefer to locate it in the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.[37] If it lay in Sumatra, it was, to judge by the present data, already a Hinduized State at an early date, because all the rulers and high officials of the country we know of from Chinese annals of the fifth and sixth centuries bear Sanskrit names, such as king Che-p'o-lo-na-lien-t'o (Śrī-Varanarendra) and his envoy Tcheu Lieou-t'o (Rudra, the Indian), both of whom lived during the reign of the Chinese emperor Hiao-Wou (454-464 A.D.) ; other kings of the same dynasty bore similar names, such as King K'iu-tan Sieou-po-t'o-lo (Gautama Subhadra, (502 A.D.) and his son P'i-ye-po-mo (Vijayavarman ? 519 A.D.) etc. A definite reference to a State of Sumatra occurs in a Chinese account of 644/645 A.D. ; it refers to the kingdom of Mo-lo-yau, which has been identified with modern Jambi on the authority of I-tsing and is deemed to be the equivalent of the Indian Malayu. Another State to appear on the horizon of Sumatran history in the 7th century was Tulang-bavang lying in the South-eastern part of the

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island, but both of these States suffered eclipse on account of the rise of a kingdom described as Fo-che or Che-li-fo-che in the Chinese annals, Sribuza in Arabic works and Śrīviṣaya in Indian records. Coedès proved, in a brilliant paper which has become classic, that all these names refer to the same kingdom, whose proper designation should be Śrīvijaya. It comprised the South-Eastern part of Sumatra. The State was ushered into the full light of positive history by a set of four stone inscriptions written in archaic or the oldest form of Old-Malay. Of these four inscriptions,[38] no. 1. has been discovered at the village of Bèdukan Bukit, by the side of the river Sungei Tatang at the foot of the hill of Bukit Sèguntang, to the South-West of modern Palembang, the date being 683 A.D. ; no. 2 inscription is from Talang Tuvo about 5 miles to the North-West of Bukit Sèguntang, the date being 684 A.D. ; the third is from Karang Brahi by the side of the tributary of the Batang Hari and the fourth one is from Kota Kapur in the island of Bangka. Nos. 3 & 4 are virtually identical. An imperialistic ardour which marks the debut of this State into the political arena of South-East Asia is vividly portrayed in inscription nos. 1 & 4. The name of the king has been variously read as Jayanāśa, Jayanāga or Jayavaga[39] and occurs in inscription no. 2. It commemorates the foundation of a Park Śrīkṣetra by king Jayanāśa—this reading has been generally accepted—and in connexion with that meritorious work expresses certain sentiments which are Mahāyānist in tenor. The militant tone of the inscriptions referred to above indicates that by 684 A.D., Śrīvijaya had established her authority over Malayu and Bangka. I-tsing, writing between 689 and 692 A.D., says of Malayu that it is "now the land of Śrīvijaya".[40] The neighbouring island of Java had not altogether been free from the military designs of Śrīvijaya, because the Kota Kapur inscription of 686 A.D. delineates her plan to invade that country. The result is a matter of speculation, but there is no doubt that it was already a second-class power in Asia by the reckoning of China in 695 A. D. This is clearly demonstrated from the fact that, in 695, the Chinese government granted

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provisions to the ambassadors of North India, South India, Persia and Arabia for six months, while those from Śrīvijaya, Chen-la (Cambodia), Ho-ling (Java) and some other kingdoms were granted provisions for five months only.[41]

The ruler of Śrīvijaya was a fervent Buddhist, as his Old Malay inscription from Palembang attests. I-tsing also tells us that Śrīvijaya was an important centre of Buddhist learning. The ships of Śrīvijaya sailed for India in the West and China in the North-East. The ligor inscription[42] testifies to the fact that about 775 A. D., the authority of Śrīvijaya had also embraced the Malay Peninsula, thus controlling not only the international trade-routes by sea but also the trans-peninsular route across the Isthmus. The Ligor inscription is coached in Sanskrit language and Face A of the inscription refers to the building of three brick temples for Buddhist deities by rājasthavira or royal chaplain Jayanta under instructions from Śrīvijayeśvara-bhūpati, while Adhimukti, the disciple and successor of Jayanta, built two more caityas by the side of the three. Face B of the Ligor inscription pays eulogy to the rājādhirāja called Viṣṇu. The last line seems to refer to a king of the Śailendra dynasty called Śrī Mahārāja, but it is not clear if he is the same as rājādhirāja Viṣṇu mentioned earlier in the inscription. The question of location of headquarters of the Śrīvijayan empire towards the close of the eighth century has provoked sharp difference of opinion among the historians, but the weight of opinion seems still to lie in favour of Sumatra, instead of Java or Malaya (Caiya-Ligor region.)[43]

Śrīvijaya maintained her contact with China from 670 to 742 A.D., but no embassies were sent from that kingdom between 767 to 873 A.D. It is again in 904 A.D. that Śrīvijaya resumed her contact with China and maintained her relationship with that empire up to 1178 A.D. During the reign of king Bālaputradeva (c. 850 A.D.) who has been described as the grandson of a Śailendra monarch of Java (Yavabhūmi-pālaḥ), Śailendra power seems to have extended over some parts of Sumatra, as the title of Suvarṇadvīpādhipa mahārāja assumed by Bālaputradeva testifies.[44] It may be recalled

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that Arabic records from the middle of the 9th century often refer to the kingdom of the Mahārāja, and the names of Zābag (Zabaj) and Śrībuja occur in them frequently. The term Zābag is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit word Jāvaka (variant Śāvaka) which occurs in the *Cullavaṃśa* of Ceylon, the *Maṇimekhalai* and other records from Southern India. The term Jāvaka or Śāvaka may mean, from the viewpoint of Sanskrit etymology, 'pertaining or belonging to Java or Sava'. Obviously the term had wider implications signifying, in a general way, the Archipelago.[45] It may stand as a vague general designation like the Suvarṇadvīpa. The word Zābaj may also be derived from the Skt. word Jāvaja and may have similar implications. It seems that these terms were popularised when the Sailendras of Java, the creators Barabudur and other magnificent temples, carried the name of Java to distant lands and exercised their sway over vast areas of the Archipelago. Once the name became popular, it did not die out and continued for centuries. The name san-fo-ts'i also appears in the Chinese annals from the beginning of the 10th century A.D. up to the Ming period in the fourteenth century. The word *San* has not hitherto been explained satisfactorily. It has been thought to be a mistake for a very similar Chinese character standing for Che (Śrī). The name has been so persistently used that the question of mistake can at once be ruled out. I wish to offer a very simple solution, viz., that it stands for the Javanese honorific *sang*, which, in common parlance, sounded like *san* or *sam*. The late Javanese form Samboja seems further to confirm the suggestion made above. As the Javanese *sang* is an exact equivalent of the Sanskrit *Śrī* and fo-t'si=Vijaya, the name San-fo-t'si is a component of two parts and exactly corresponds to the two parts of Śrī Vijaya. This explains why the Chinese designation of San-fo-t'si appears, in the Tamil records of the 11th century, as Śrīviṣaya or Śrīvijaya, thus indicating that there was no change of nomenclature, as the older interpretation of the name would suggest.[46]

Embassies from San-fo-t'si visited China many times between 960-1178 A.D. In 960 and 962 the king of San-fo-t'si

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was Śrī Udayāditya (varman).[47] Since king Bālaputradeva belonged to the Śailendra dynasty and his authority seems to have extended over certain parts of Sumatra in c. 850 A.D., it is tempting to hold the view that Udayāditya, who ruled in San-fo-t'si in 960 A.D., was a scion of this family, though it is difficult to prove it satisfactorily. We do not know if the Śailendras of Central Java were ousted or extirpated or became merged in some local dynasty through marriage or loss of heir. In any case, it must have been very alluring for the Sumatran successors of Bālaputradeva to recapture the lands of the Śailendras in Java, just as the early Mughal emperors of India did in regard to their patrimony in Central Asia. Udayādityavarman, whether a linear descendant of the family of Bālaputradeva or otherwise, might have pursued a similar aim. If this be so, it was not surprising that relations of San-fo-t'si with Java soon deteriorated, because in the Chinese annals of 992 A.D., a Javanese ambassador is reported to have stated that "his country was in enmity with San-fo-t'si and that they were always fighting together."[48]

If our interpretation of San-fo-t'si=Śrīvijaya be correct, it would appear that in 1003 A. D. king Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tiau-hwa (Śrī Cūḍāmaṇivarmadeva) of San-fo-t'si sent two envoys to China. Five years later, king Se-ri-ma-la-p'i [Śrī Māravi(jayottuṅgavarman]) of the same country sent three envoys to China.[49] The larger Leiden Grant of the time of Rājarāja I makes it clear that they were father and son and belonged to the Śailendra dynasty.[50] The younger king has been described as "Lord of Śrīviṣaya (country), who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha." The construction of a vihāra called Cūḍāmaṇivarmavihāra was started at about 1006 A.D. at Nāgapaṭṭana (Negapatam) during the reign of Cūḍāmaṇi-varmadeva, a contemporary of Rājarāja I, and completed by Māravijayottuṅgvarman, the son of Cūḍāmaṇi, during the reign of Rājendra Cola.[51] Debris of this vihāra seems to have survived till 1867, when it was dismantled.[52]

For unknown reasons, but presumably due to commercial rivalry, the Śrīvijaya and Cola monarchs, who had been

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friendly at the beginning of the 11th century, fell apart in less than two decades. Rājendra Cola's praśasti gives account of a naval expedition against the Śrīvijaya empire. The chief seat of Śrīvijayan power lay at Palembang in Sumatra, the overseas capital being at Kaṭāha. Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman, bearing a name reminiscent of impeccable Śailendra coronation-names, was ruler of this big empire. The Cola-king succeeded in capturing the ruler of Śrīvijaya and many places of the empire were taken by storm. Such places include Paṇṇai[53], Malaiyūr,[54] Māyiruḍingam,[55] and Ilaṅgāśogam.[56] The identification of Māppappālam, Mevilimbaṅgam and Valaippandūru, which were also conquered, is uncertain.[57] Talaittakkolam[58] and Mādāmaliṅgam,[59] Ilāmurideśam,[60] Manakkavāram[61] and Kaḍāram[62] were also taken by storm. It was a great victory. The names, so far as they can be identified, lay in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. This extent of the Śrīvijayan empire is also corroborated by contemporary accounts of Arab writers and Chau-Ju-kua regarding the extent of the empire of Zābag. The Cola-invasion could not permanently cripple Śrīvijaya, because within a few years after the debacle referred to above, Che-li-tie-houa i.e. Śrīdeva, a king of Śrīvijaya sent an embassy to China (1028 A.D.). Unable and unwilling to fight on two fronts, Śrīvijaya kept on good terms with the contemporary Javanese king Airlangga. The Chinese annals tell us that in 1067 and 1077, an ambassador named Ti-houa-k'ie-lo (Divākara) arrived from San-fo-t'si at the Chinese court. It has been proposed that this Divākara was no other than Rājendra-Deva-Koluttuṅga, and the Chinese name was composed of the second and third parts of the name.[63] There was however recrudescence of war between the Cola-king Vīrarājendra and the Śrīvijaya monarch in c. 1068 A.D. Good relations seem however to have been restored by 1089-90 A.D., when the Smaller Leiden Grant was issued.[64] It attests the enlargement of privileges of the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra complex at Negapatam.

Several embassies were sent from San-fo-t'si to China during the 12th century, as recorded in Chinese annals of the

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Sung period, the last entry hereunder being 1178 A.D. The last entry under the second Sung annals is 1279 A.D. In 1225,[65] Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese Inspector of Foreign Trade at Ch'uan-chou, wrote in his *Chu-fan-chi* : "Owing to this country (San-fo-t'si) being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all foreign nations, the produce of all other countries is intercepted and kept in store there for the trade of foreign ships."[66] Many scholars hold the view that the account of San-fo-t'si, as given by Chau Ju-kua, is based almost entirely on *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, written in 1178 A.D., and is accordingly valid for that year only. It may hawever be urged that since the preface of the work was written in 1225 A.D., the author might have effected appropriate changes in his work if he was convinced that the conditions for 1178A.D. do not hold good for the year 1225 A.D. As stated above, San-fo-t'si was a great centre of trade, but its political greatness, sometimes of shadowy character, had not yet declined, though it might have already crossed the meridian. Chau Ju-kua describes 15 dependent States of San-fo-t'si, of which identifications proposed by modern scholars are given side by side :

1. P'ong fŏng (=Pahang).
2. Tŏng-ya-nong (Trengganu).
3. Ling-ya-ssi-kia (Langkasuka).
4. Ki-lan-tan (Kĕlantan).
5. Fo-lo-an (A State in Malaya)
6. Ji-lo-t'ing (Jeloting in Malaya).
7. Ts'ien Mai (Semang ?).
8. Pa-t'a (Batak ?).
9. Tan-ma-ling (Tāmbraliṅga, Ligor).
10. Kia-lo-hi (Grahi=Jaya=Caiya in the Mal. Peninsula)
11. Pa-lin-fŏng (Palembang)
12. Sin-t'o (Sunda)
13. Kien-pi (Kampe or Kampar on the east coast of Sumatra)
14. Lan-wu-li (Lamuri, Acheh)
15. Si-lan (Ceylon)

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From details furnished, it would appear that these States were tributaries with varying degrees of control exercised by San-fo-t'si. If we take a broad view of these dependencies, they would appear to be distributed over Malaya, Sumatra and Java. The absence of Malayu or Jambi from the list of Chau Ju-kua and the occurrence of the name of Mahārāja Śrīmat Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhuṣana-varma-deva[67] in the Caiya or Grahi inscription of 1183 A. D. have led scholars to diametrically opposite views. As these data may be adduced to prove almost anything regarding the transference of the seat of the Śrīvijaya empire to Jambi, Malayu or Grahi (the identity of the first two is disputed by some) or to demonstrate the accleration of the process of disintegration of the Śrīvijayan empire, I do not wish here to enter into this fruitless controversy.[68]

Although the Śrīvijaya empire reeled from the hard knocks delivered by the Cola-monarchs, it did not collapse. These must have however strained the resources of the empire to a great extent. Its power was sapped by the aggressive and impetuous war launched by king Candrabhānu of Jāvaka. In the magnitude of organisation, recklessness and disaster, it recalls the Sicilian expedition of the Athenians over 1500 years ago. The Caiya inscription describes king Candrabhānu as Lord of Tāmbraliṅga. Now Chau Ju-kua has enlisted Tāmbraliṅga as a vassal State of San-fo-t'si, with a separate ruler. As Candrabhānu belonged to Padmavaṃśa (Family of Lotus) or Pañcāṇḍavaṃśa, he had apparently supplanted the Śailendravaṃśa of San-fo-t'si by a successful revolt. Similar forces of disintegration were at work, both in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, and Candrabhānu was at the crest of it. But he was, as I have told before, an impetuous ruler. The *Cullavaṃśa*[69] indeed tells us : "In the 11th year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II, a king of Jāvaka, called Candrabhānu, landed with an army at Kakkhalā.....A few years later, king Candrabhānu again landed at Mahātīrtha". In both the expeditions, the Javaka king met with stiff resistance and was badly defeated. If the revised chronology of Geiger regarding the reign of Parā-

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kramabāhu II (1236-1271 A.D.) be accepted, the first invasion of Ceylon by the king of Jāvaka took place in 1247 and the second one at about 1270 A.D. The Jāvaka or Śāvaka of the *Cullavaṃśa* apparently refers to San-fo-t'si or Śrīvijaya. However, taking advantage of these invasions, the Pāṇḍya-kings Jaṭāvarman Śundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya decided to fish in troubled waters. In an inscription of 1264, it is stated that Vīra Pāṇḍya "was pleased to take the Cola-country, Ceylon, the crown and the crowned head of the king of Śāvaka".[70] Whatever one may think of these tall claims, there is no doubt that the contemporary Pāṇḍya-kings were playing an opportunist's role. Indeed, during the Second expedition of Candrabhānu, the Jāvaka-king was assisted by soldiers from Cola and Pāṇḍya countries. These impudent expeditions against a remote kingdom, which successfully withstood them, substantially contributed to the down-fall of Śrīvijaya-Jāvaka, of which he was the last powerful monarch. If the Ceylonese expeditions had sapped the vitality of this empire, the final blow was struck by the Javanese king Kṛtanagara. He conquered Pahang in the Malay Peninsula and, if the testimony of the *Pararaton* is to be believed, Malayu (Jambi) in Sumatra was conquered by him in 1275 A.D. The subordinate status of Malayu is also confirmed by the Padang Rocho inscription dated 1286 A.D.,[71] which indicates that king Śrīmat Tribhuvanarāja-maulivarmadeva of Malayu had become a vassal of Mahā-rājādhirāja Kṛtanagara. It has been further stated that in 1293 the Javanese returned from Malayu with two princesses from the conquered country. Of them, Dara Petak became a queen of Śrī Kṛtarājasa, founder of the Majapahitan empire, while the other, Dara Jinga, married another ruler (Deva) and became the mother of a king of Malāyu, Tuhan Janaka, officially called Marmadeva. Even the destruction of king Kṛtanagara did not bring respite to the weak and distracted kingdom of San-fo-t'si, as it had little capacity to halt the southward drive of the Thais of Sukhodaya in the Malay Paninsula and the expansionism of Malayu in Sumatra itself. In this way, the constituent parts of the once mighty

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Śrīvijaya empire fell apart and separately became prey to the rapacious rulers of the neighbouring countries.

In the middle of the 14th century, several inscriptions were issued from Central Sumatra relating to Kanakamedinīndra Ādityavarman, son of Advayavarman. In 1347, he caused to be inscribed at Malāyupura a Sanskrit record on the back of the Amoghapāśa image, brought from Java in 1286 A.D. Here he describes himself as Mahārājādhirāja Udayādityavarma Pratāpaparākrama Rājendra Moulimaṇivarmadeva. In spite of his high title, which may be due to his connexion with the Javanese royal family, he seems to have been a vassal of the Majapahitan emperor. After his death in about 1375 A.D., Majapahit seems to have established firm control over the kingdom. In the Nāgarakṛtāgama of 1365 A.D., Jambi and Palembang already appear at the head of the list enumerating the foreign possessions of Majapahit. A fitting epitaph on the inglorious existence of Ṣan-fo-t'si is provided by the History of the Ming Dynasty under 1397 A.D. It states :[72]

"At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-t'si and changed its name to Ku-kang. When San-fo-t'si went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land." During this turmoil, a Chinese pirate set up himself as a king in at least a part of what was previously the Śrīvijaya Empire.

The political disintegration of Sumatra facilitated the introduction of Islam into the island. The writings of Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, Ma Huan and some others describe the stages by which the people of Sumatra, specially those living in the northern part of it, were gradually converted to the Islamic faith. In 1292 A. D., when Marco Polo visited Sumatra, Perlak, which is doubtless Perlak on the North-East of Sumatra, was the only Muslim State in Sumatra. Within a few years, the kingdom of Samudra was also converted to the Islamic faith. An examination of the tomb-stones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pase reveals the interesting phenomenon that they bear striking resemblances with those of Gujrat, which must have been one of the important bases from which

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Islam made a conquest of an important segment of the island of Sumatra. Ma Huan, writing in 1416 A. D. states that Lambri, which is the same as Lamuri or Great Acheh, was an Islamic State. Thus, in course of about a century, the more important States of northern Sumatra had accepted Islam. By war, intrigue and marriage alliances, it gradually spread its tentacles over other parts of the island.

II

From Indonesia, we may now turn our attention to Malaysia, comprising the Malay Peninsula and Borneo. On account of its geographical position, Malaya was bound to be an intermediary station between India and China, serving as a dispersal centre for the propagation of Indian culture and civilisation in the neighbouring countries. We have already discussed some aspects of this question in connexion with our study of Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi and the role of Brahmins in the early colonisation of Malaya. The country will come up for further consideration when we study the architecture and sculpture of this region. A study of the political history of this place for the first few centuries of the Christian era is a difficult task for the historian, because the Chinese data, on which we have mainly to rely, have not much to say on this point, though the picture is not as bleak as in the case of Borneo. It has to be borne in mind that, for the historical geographer, the Chinese annals constitute the most important source up to 1500 A.D. and the only detailed source for the period prior to 1000 A. D.

We may now discuss the story of the more important States of ancient Malaya. So far as present data enable us to judge, the earliest State of the Peninsula seems to be Langkasuka, which was founded, according to the testimony of the *Liang-Shu*, towards the close of the first century A.D. An outline of its history has been drawn up for the period ranging from the second to the 16th century, with occasional periods of eclipse, but it is yet difficult to put in flesh and blood into the dry bones of its history. The State seems to

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have suffered a period of political eclipse soon after its birth, but it springs into life again in the Chinese annals of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. Wheatley thinks[73] that the political eclipse of this State might have been due to the imperialist activities of Fan Shih-man, who had become the king of Fu-nan. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that it was already a Hinduized State when we first come across it in the Chinese annals at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth. It has been stated that one member of the king's household had married, while in exile in India, the eldest daughter of the king of that country. It so happened that after the death of the king of Langka, the exile was called back to rule the country. His son P'o-ch'ieh-ta-lo (i.e. Bhagadatta) sent an envoy to China in 515 A. D.[14] Other embassies from this State were sent in 523, 531 and 568 A. D. This role of independence was no doubt facilitated by the decline of Fu-nan. Travellers going from the Far East to India called at its port in the seventh century. In the 9th and 10th centuries, it constituted a part of the Śrīvijayan empire. In the 11th century, it finds a place in Cola history under the name of Ilangāśogam, which was sacked by Rājendra Colo I, but it seems to have been under Śrīvijaya up to the time of Chau Ju-kua (1225 A. D.). In 1365, the author of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes it as a vassal State under the Majapahitan empire. After figuring casually in Sulaiman al-Mahri's sailing instructions in 1511 A. D., Langkasuka disappears in the mythology and fairy tales of the Patani Malaya and Kedah pesantry.[75]

From ethnological point of view, another important Indian settlement was Kālagam, but it possibly lay on the West coast. The Tamil poem *Paṭṭinappālai*, dating from the end or the beginning of the third century A. D., refers to "goods from Kālagam".[76] This Kālagam is believed by many scholars to be the same as Kaḍāram. Even if this identification be disputed, there is no doubt that this Kālagam of Malaya had close commercial relations with Puhar or Kāveripaṭṭiṇam.[77] It appears from late Cola inscriptions that Kaḍāram or Kiḍāram of Tamil works is to be under-

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stood in the sense of Kaṭāhanagara of Sanskrit literature. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Kaṭāha has been described as "the City of all Felicities", where life was gay and enjoyable.[78]

At the port of Kedah (Chieh-ch'a of the Chinese annals), pilgrims waited for the proper rhythm of monsoons to cross the Bay of Bengal. Recorded settlement in southern Kedah dates from the fifth or sixth century A. D., but in course of time it became the peninsular headquarters of the Śrīvijaya empire and attained a dominant position, but it lost this position in the eleventh century A.D. During its days of glory, it had close contact with many parts of India and had a large Indian population, but it partook, for several centuries, a cosmopolitan character, with a substantial number of floating population.

P'an-P'an was also an important State of ancient Malaya. According to Chiu T'ang Shu in the T'ang History, the kingdom of P'an-P'an "adjoins the kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu.' It seems to have lain to the north of the latter, somewhere on or near the Bay of Bandon.[79] We do not, however, know the circumstances leading to the foundation of P'an-P'an, but Luce[80] has suggested that it was founded by the Fu-nanese general Fan Shih-man in the third centuries A. D. and named in honour of the reigning Fu-nanese king (Hun) P'an-P'an. Some details regarding this kingdom are to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* where we read[81] : "The king is called Yang-li-ch'ih ; his father's name was Yang-te-wu-lien. Beyond that nothing is known...The king reclines on a gilded dragon-couch, with all his chief retainers kneeling before him, their hands crossed and resting on their shoulders. They are in high favour with the king. His chief ministers are called respectively Po-lang-so-lan, K'un-lun-ti-yeh, K'un-lun-po-ho, K'un-lun-po-ti-so-kan. In the vernacular k'un-lun and ku-lung have the same sound so that one can say either. Provincial officials are called na-yen, and correspond to the Chinese tz'u-shih and hsien-ling. The arrows (in use) are tipped with stone and the lances with iron." Envoys from this kingdom were sent to the Imperial Court of China during the Yuan-chia (424-53),

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Hsio-o-chien (454-6) and Ta-ming (457-64) periods of the Sung Dynasty, in the first and fourth years of the Ta-t'ung period of the Liang dynasty (527 and 530), in 536 and during the Ta-Yeh period (605-17) of the Sui dynasty. It was already a Hinduized State at the end of the fourth century A.D., as the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya II used it as a springboard for the second Hinduization of Fu-nan. The State might have been originally Brāhmaṇic, but Hinduism, Buddhism and other minor sects co-existed here side by side. It may be recalled that P'an-P'an and Tan-tan supplied Buddhist relics, leaves of Bo-tree, ivory images, miniature painted stūpas etc. to China between 527 and 536 and also between 605 and 617.

Another Hinduized State of ancient Malaya was Tun-Sun. We have records bearing on this kingdom from third century onwards.[82] The question of its location has created problem for the historian, as the available details on this point are extremely hazy. The *Liang-shu* has described Tun-Sun as a State "situated on an ocean-stepping stone". This has been interpreted as meaning a place where one crosses from one sea to another. It was perhaps located in the northern part of Malaya facing the Gulf of Siam. We read some strange details regarding the administration of this kingdom. We thus read in the *Liang-shu* : "There were five kings who all acknowledge themselves vassals of Fu-nan". It is reported that Fan-man, who ascended on the throne of Fu-nan at the beginning of the third century A.D. "ordered the construction of great ships and crossing right over the Chang-hai, attacked more than ten kingdoms, including Chu-tu-k'un, Chiu-chih and Tien Sun".[83] It had commercial relations with Parthia in the west and Tongking in the east. It has been described as the mart where the "East and West meet together so that there are innumerble people there. Its king is called K'un-lun. It is reported in the *Nan-Shih* that "in the country there are 500 families of Hu from India, 2 fo-t'u and more than 1000 Indian Brahmins. The people of Tun Sun practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage ; consequently many of the Brahmins do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred

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canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night." The sociological and ethnological details given in the Chinese account leave no room for doubt that the kingdom was greatly Indianised.

Another State which possibly lay in northern Malaya was Tan-tan. The most direct evidence bearing on the location of this kingdom in the Chinese annals is Tan-tan's association with Ch'ih-t'u, which probably lay in North-East Malaya. There is no further evidence to help us in its identification. About this kingdom, we read in the *Tung Tien* : "The kingdom of Tan-tan was heard of during Sui times. The king's family name is Sha-li, his personal name Shih-ling-chia. There are something over 20,000 families in the capital. Chou and hsien have been established to facilitate administration and control. The king holds audience for two periods each day, in the morning and the evening. He has eight officers of State, known as Pa-Tso, who are Brāhmaṇas. The king often daubs his person with fragrant powder. He wears kuan-t'ung-t'ien, hangs a variety of precious ornaments about his neck, clothes himself in chao-hsia and leather sandals on his feet. When he travels a short distance he is carried in a litter, on longer journeys he rides on an elephant. In battle conch-shells and drums are sounded while banners and flags (are waved). Under the criminal code all robbers and thieves, irrespective of the seriousness of their crimes, suffer execution."[84] Some additional details are to be found in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*,[85] where it has been stated that during the time of Ch'ien-Feng (A. D. 666-7) and T'sung-Chang (A. D. 668-9) this kingdom offered up local products as tribute.

It has been recorded that embassies were sent from this kingdom to the Imperial court in 530, 535 and 616 A.D. Of the embassy of 530, we read in the *Liang Shu* that it presented to the Chinese court a memorial which was couched in fervent Buddhist terms and was accompanied by 2 ivory images, 2 stūpas, fire pearls, cotton fabrics, various perfumes and drums.[86]

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The details furnished above leave no room for doubt that Tan-tan was a Hinduized country, in which the standard of civilisation was fairly high. It had a well-ordered government, with administrative officers, of whom the highest eight positions were held by the Brāhmaṇas. The number of families in the capital (20,000) may very well be doubted, but it may be conceded that it was a prosperous town with a rich hinterland.

The kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, to which reference has been made above, came into prominence in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. About this kingdom we read in the Chinese annals :[87] "The king's family name is Ch'u-t'an, his personal name is Li-fu-to-se. He knows nothing of adjacent or distant countries. According to his own account, his Buddhist father abdicated so that he could preach the Word, whereupon Li-fu-to-se reigned in his stead. He has ruled for sixteen years and has three wives from among the daughters of neighbouring kings. He resides in the city of Seng-chih, which has triple gates more than a hundred paces apart. Those stationed on the outside of the gate grasp weapons of war, those on the inside hold white cloths in the passage-way and gather flowers into white nets. All the buildings in the royal palace consist of multiple pavilions with the doors on the northern side. The king sits on a three-tiered couch, facing north and dressed in rose-coloured cloth, with a chaplet of gold flowers and necklaces of varied jewels. Four damsels attend on his right hand and on his left, and more than a hundred soldiers mount guard. The officials are : one sa-t'o-chia-lo ; two t'o-na-ta-yu ; three chia-li-mi-chia in charge of political affairs ; one chu-lo-mo-ti administering criminal law. Each city appoints one na-ya-chia and ten po-ti.

"On his accession to the throne, Yang-ti called for men capable of opening up of communications with far distant lands. In the third year of the Ta-yeh period (A. D. 607) Ch'ang-Chun, the custodian of Military Property, and Wang Chun-cheng, a Controller of Natural Resources, were among those who requested to be sent on an embassy to Ch'ih-t'u."

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The protocol matters have been discussed elsewhere in a different context and need not be repeated here. The details furnished in the Chinese annals regarding this kingdom create the impression of a highly Hinduized society inhabiting the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u. Unfortunately the location of this kingdom has been the subject of protracted controversy among the scholars.[88] The meagre data available seem to indicate that it may have lain in North-East Malaya.

According to the T'ang History, the State of Ko-lo lay to the South-East of P'an-P'an, but this testimony has not found favour with many scholars. They are more prone to equate it with Kalah of Arab geographers. While Kern and Fokker thought that Kalah may be the same as Kedah, because the Malay *d* was pronounced very much like *l*, Ferrand proposed the identification of Kalah with Kra on the ground that Malay *r* was usually reproduced in Arabic by *lam*. Baffled by these linguistic quibbles, Wheatley sought an escape by drawing attention to certain remarks of Abū Du-laf who referred to an exceptionally productive tin-mine within the very walls of Kalah ; Mas'udi also offers a description of the Sea of Kalah-bar. By investigating the geology, topography, flora and navigational details, Wheatley pronounced in favour of the Mergui District, opposite to which lies the large island of Kala.[89]

About Ko-lo, we read in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* :[90] "The king's family name is Shih-li-po-lo, his personal name is Mi-shih-po-lo. The city walls are of piled stone ; the towers, the palace, and the houses are thatched with straw. There are twenty four *chou*. The soldiers use bows and arrows, lances and spears. They decorate their banners with peacock feathers. In war a hundred elephants constitute a company, with a hundred men to each elephant. The (elephant)-saddle is like a cage, with four men inside, grasping bows and lances." Kolo was obviously an important State, because its capital was an atap town ; its territory included 24 prefectures, while the army consisted of 20000 soldiers and an array of elephants.

The Liang annals tell us that Fan Shih-man, to whom

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reference has been made above, incorporated about a dozen States of the Malay Peninsula in the empire of Fu-nan by maritime campaigns, but we do not get the names of all these States, excepting three. The other States which might have felt the impact of Fu-nan in the days of its imperialism were (Ch'u)tu-k'un, Chu-li, which places are still unidentified, Pon-tou, Pi-sung, possibly Tāmbraliṅga, Takkola, Kaṭāha, Langkasuka, Ko-lo and Tun-Sun. These States occupied the Isthmus during the days of Fu-nanese imperialism. Wheatley thinks[91] that excepting Tun-Sun, Langkasuka and P'an-P'an, which we have discussed above, some of the other States might not have been anything else than local tribal gatherings.

A State on the eastern coast which later on became important was Tan-ma-ling, which corresponds to Tāmbralinga of the Grahi inscription, the Mādamaliṅgam of the Tanjore inscription . It lay in the Caiya district. The port of Takua Pa on the West coast served as a gateway to Tāmbraliṅga by the transpeninsular way. A name Tamali occurs in the *Mahāniddesa* and S. Levi[92] thought that the name reminds one of Tambhaling, the birth-place of the famous scholar Buddhapālita. Be that as it may, an undated Sanskrit inscription from this place probably dating from the sixth century A.D. records an endowment for the common benefit of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical institutions arranging for the worship of Pāramitā and Agastya.

When the empire of Fu-nan disintegrated and made room for Chen-la, the contemporary States of the Malay Peninsula naturally asserted their independence and began to send tributes to China. The *Sui-shu*[93] tells us that during the period 605-16 A.D., nearly a dozen States from the Southern frontiers brought tributes to China. Of them, possibly the most important ones were P'an-P'an, Ch'ih-t'u, Tan-tan and Ko-lo. Langkasuka also re-emerges after about three centuries of obscurity and served as halting stations for travellers proceeding along the coastal belt. Chieh-ch'a (Kedah) on the western coast served as a regular port for the pilgrims visiting India in the seventh century A.D. Further

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North lay the harbour of Takua Pa lying on the western coast, but having a transpeninsular route to Tāmbraliṅga, which might have been absorbed by P'an-P'an. The northern State of Tun-Sun seems to have been superseded by Dvāravatī later on. Wheatley thinks that the States of Ch'u-tu-k'un and Chu-li, which figured in Fan Shih-man's military exploits, might have also been absorbed by one or other of the States mentioned above. Between c. 550 and 800 A. D., the States of the Malay Peninsula were comparatively free from the encroachments of Chen-la.

In the days of Śrīvijayan hegemony from c. 800 to 1300 A.D., Malay Peninsula invited the greedy attention of two powerful neighbours viz. Kambujadeśa or Cambodia, the successor of Chen-la as a continental power and Śrīvijaya, which had an earlier start, as a thalassic or maritime power. The former had an agro-economic base, as the matrix of its society and government, while the prosperity of the latter depended on its trade and commerce. Śrīvijaya's direct contact with Canton and Tāmralipti is attested by I-tsing. The period of Śrīvijayan hegemony over the Malay Peninsula was marked by rings of city-States, which had usually a small hinterland and a port, the city being palisaded according to the wealth of the States concerned. Not that these conditions did not exist in the earlier period, but that they developed considerably under the fostering care of a commercial empire. Of these States, the prosperous ones included Langkasuka, Kedah and Kalah. The administrative arrangements of some of these States have been reflected in the Chinese annals. Of the older States, besides the States mentioned above, there were the Hinduized States of P'an-P'an and Tan-Tan. Tāmbraliṅga disappears for the time being only to reappear in the 11th century. This might have been due to its absorption by one of the neighbouring States. In the western coast lay the cosmopolitan city-port of Kalāh, the colony of Takua Pa and the Mart of Takkola, if it be distinguished from Takua Pa. Further South lay the Settlement of Lo-yueh and Pahang. It easily engages the attention of a careful observer that while sacred objects featured

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prominently among the "tributes" of the earlier period, jungle-products, drugs, precious metals, cotton fabrics, etc., constitute the chief items of export in the period of Śrīvijayan hegemony. In the days of Śailendra or Śrīvijayan thalassocracy, the majority of the States of the Malay Peninsula probably constituted, under it, a sort of confederation of trading ports, each with a sparsely populated hinterland. By the 12th century Srīvijaya would not tolerate any other State encroaching upon her rights on the neighbouring seas, specially the Malacca Strait up to the Ruket Island, Singapore Strait, the diverse passages through the Riau and Lingga Archipelagoes and the Straits of Bangka, Gasper and Sunda, probably also over the Sea of Kalāh-bar and parts of the South China and Java Seas.[94] The maritime activities of the monarchs of Srīvijaya or Zābaj were directed from the headquarters of Palembang and the Peninsular node at Kedah, which however rapidly declined after the sack of Rājendra Cola I. In Chau Ju-kua's time (1225 A.D.) she got only a passing reference, but Fo-lo-an, which is deemed by Wheatley to be the same as Kuala Berang in Trengganu, occupied the position lost by Kedah. In the 13th century, Srīvijayan control seems to have extended up to C'ump'on, where the Caiya and the Khmer satellite Teng-liu-mei met. The State of Langkasuka continues to exist, if not flourish ; Tāmbraliṅga, which Chau Ju-kua discusses separately under the heading Tan-ma-ling, has not yet disappeared, but the days of its greatness were also coming to an end. Although the Caiya inscription[95] indicates the assertion of her autonomy and aggressiveness, her power was considerably reduced on account of her interference in the internal affairs of a remote country like Ceylon in 1270 A. D. This weakness facilitated the southward drive of the Thais about two decades later, because, in a record from 1292 A.D.,[96] Rama K'amheng claimed Ratburi, Pechaburi, Sridhammarat (capital of Tāmbraliṅga) and all the country to the bounding sea as part of the empire of Sukot'ai. It is worthwhile to note in this connexion that some other States also appear in contemporary Chinese annals, such as the entrepot of Kuala

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Berang, Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang, but not much is known of their internal history.

It is difficult to say what was the actual line of demarcation in the Malay Peninsula between the Thai empire in the North and the Majapahitan empire in the South. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*,[97] we find enumerated 15 dependencies of Majapahit in the Malay Peninsula grouped under the generic name Pahang and this includes Hujung Medini, Lengkasuka, Saimvang, Kalanten, Tringgano, Nashor, Pakamuvar, Dungun, Tumasik, Sang hyang hujung, Kelang, Keda, Jere, Kanjap, Niran, which are designated 'one island altogether'.[98]

Allowing for small exaggerations, the list appears to include places which were actually under Majapahitan sway around 1365 A. D. Although Berg has described the list to be nothing but accumulated geographical knowledge of the time, Krom, Bosch, Coedès and Majumdar seem to accept the list as generally valid. It has been observed in this connexion that the Malay book *Hikayat Rājarāja Pasay*, although somewhat later than the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and composed at the time of the capture of Majapahit by the Muslims gives a similar list regarding the foreign possessions of contemporary Majapahit.[99]

In the second half of the fourteenth century, some of the northern States like Tāmbraliṅga, Kelantan, Trengganu and Hsia-lai-wu became prominent in connexion with export trade with the Chinese. The States coming to importance or holding their previous position include Lo-yueh, Mait and Tumasik. If we believe in the testimony of *Sejarah Melayu*, Tumasik was colonised by a Sumatran prince with the help of colonists from Bentan and rechristened Sing(h)apura or the City of the Lion (-hearted people).[100] Whatever may be the significance of the name of Singapore, it is probable that the city continued to be in the sphere of Javanese influence throughout the second half of the 14th century and controlled the Keppel Harbour passage between Karimon and Pedra Banca. This semblance of authority also declined with the further weakening of Java in the 15th century. Under the circumstances, the States of the Malay Peninsula,

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finding an aggressive Malayu in the South and an expansionist Sukhot'ai in the North turned to China for protection, as the authority of China was, in reality, a fiction.

Meanwhile, another State, called Malacca, which originally flourished as a brigand State, came into existence towards the end of the 14th century and was already a trading centre at the very beginning of the 15th century.[101] It seems to have been founded by the Buginese pirates under the leadership of an Indianised native of Java or Sumatra called Parameśvara. The new State was granted the status of a kingdom by a decree of the Chinese emperor in 1409 A.D. On account of its strategic position, it rapidly grew up into a great commercial centre and converted the Strait, as in the days of Śrīvijaya, into a private Sea. The second ruler of Malacca married a daughter of the Muslim king of Pase and himself became a convert to the religion under the name of Sekandar Shah. The proselytising zeal of the Malaccan Muslims was such that they served, according to the testimony of De Barros, as spearhead for the propagation of Islam "not only in the neighbourhood of Malacca, but also in Sumatra, Java, and in all the islands situated round these countries". Ma Huan observed in 1416 A.D. that the king and the people of Malacca were Muhammadans.[102] In course of a century, the Portuguese stepped in, under the leadership of Albuquerque in July 1511 and conquered Malacca. The last Malay ruler of Malacca then captured Johore. He and his descendants spread Islam not only in that State, but also in Riau and Lingga. The kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri were converted to Islam by Muzaffar Shah, son and successor of Sekandar Shah, the second ruler of Malacca. Other areas of the Malay Peninsula were also gradually brought within the orbit of Islam, thus ringing the death-knell of Hinduism as a State religion in the Malay Peninsula.

We shall now turn our attention to another part of Malaysia. Borneo, believed by some scholars to be the same as Varhiṇadvīpa of the *Purāṇas*, is the largest island of the Malay Archipelago. The major part of Borneo is now

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called Kalimantan ; the rest is parcelled out amongst Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei. The data for drawing up the political history of ancient Borneo are however too meagre. The earliest records of the island refer to its eastern part, where, in the District of Kutei, at Muara Kaman, on the Mahakam river, were discovered four Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on stone-yūpas (sacrificial pillars). It has been stated therein that king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of Kuṇḍuṅga, had performed a ritual called *Vahusuvarṇaka* (much gold-offering) and given away 20000 kine to the Brāhmaṇas in the sacred ground of Vaprakeśvara. The set of four inscriptions referred to above was discovered in 1879. In 1940, three other yūpa-inscriptions, also written in Sanskrit, were discovered from the same locality. These have also been couched in the same metre. In one of the records of the second series, reference has been made to the gift of *jaladhenu, ghṛtadhenu, kapila, tila and Vṛṣabhaikādaśa* by king Mūlavarman. Here the word *dhenu* signifies 'gift in stead of or in the shape of a cow'. The second record refers to the gift of tilaparvata (sesamum-mountain or heap) and dīpamālā or rows of lamps. The third record is comparatively longer. It has been stated therein that an ākāśadīpa or sky-lamp was set up in the capital-city. The general picture drawn by these inscriptions makes us imagine, as if a slice of terrain was cut off from the Coromandel coast of Southern India and set up in a remote corner of Borneo around 400 A.D. The founder of this dynasty or vaṃśakartā, as one of the inscriptions tells us, was Aśvavarman, but his father Kuṇḍuṅga has also been described as a narendra i.e. a lord of men. Regarding Kuṇḍuṅga, the progenitor of the dynasty, one might conjecture that he was a Hindu migrant from India or a native chief of Borneo who had adopted Indian culture and religion. Some scholars have compared the name of Kuṇḍuṅga with Kauṇḍinya of Fu-nan ; in spite of the dubious similarity, one can perhaps admit that the name of Kuṇḍuṅga is not a familiar Sanskrit name.[103]

A veil of obscurity descends upon Borneo for over 250 years after Mūlavarman. The island finds a reference in the

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Chinese annals under the name of Po-lo, of which we learn in the *History of the T'ang dynasty* (618-906) that a king of this dynasty sent an envoy to China in 669 A.D. Trade relations of Pu-ni with Indo-China in the second half of the 9th century is also attested by Chinese annals contained in *Man-Shu*,[104] but we hardly know anything regarding the religion and culture of the people. We know however from the *History of the Sung Dynasty* that closer relations with China were established in 977 A.D., when the king of Pu-ni called Hiang-ta sent three envoys to the Imperial court ; it was not until 1082 A.D. that Sri Ma-ja (Śrī Mahārāja) of this country sent envoy again.[105] Unfortunately there is again a dark period in the 12th century. This is not relieved till Chau Ju-kua (1225 A.D.) tells us that the people of this country worshipped Buddha. The same writer also informs us that Tañjungpura in South-West Borneo was already incorporated into the Javanese empire. This event is also attested by the Old-Javanese inscription of 1323 A.D.[106]

The people of the country were intelligent. Their unusual proficiency in Arithmetic and book-keeping has been attested by Wang Ta-Yuen (1349 A.D.), who also speaks of the Buddhist religion of the people, thus confirming what was observed by Chau Ju-kua long ago. In the *Nāgarakṛtagama* (1365), a large portion of Borneo has been included under the foreign possessions of the Majapahitan empire. The list comprises the names of the following places.[107] Kapuhas, Katingān (Mendavi River), Sāmpit, Kuṭa, Lingga (Linga on the Batang Lupar), Kuṭa Varingin, Sambas, Lavai (Muara Lavai on the Mendavak or Melavi), Kaḍangḍangan (Kendavangan), Landa (Landak), Sameḍang (Semandang in Simpang ?), Tirem (Peniraman on the Kapuas Kechil or Tidung), Seḍu (Sadong in Saravak, Seḍua in Langgou or Siduh in Maṭan), Buruneng (Brunei), Kalka (Kaluka near Saribas ?), Saluḍung (Maluḍu-bay), Solot (Solok or Sulu island), Pasir, Paritu, Sayakū (Seyaku island), Tabalung (Tabalong in Amuntai), Tuñjung Kute (Kutei), Malano (Malanau in N. W. Borneo, Balinean in Saravak, or Milanau), Tañiungpurī (the capital city ; Tañjungpura on the South Pavan). It is not impossible

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that all these states recognised the suzerainty of Java over them. The Chinese annals further tells us that in 1368 Pu-ni was attacked by the people of Su-lu, an adjacent country, and its army did not retreat till Java, as a suzerain power, appeared on the scene. The *History of the Ming Dynasty* also refers to the supremacy of Java, but adds that from the beginning of the 15th century, China usurped that position. This may be true, because, on this occasion, the usual Chinese platitudes about "tribute" have been replaced by personal attendance of king Maraja (Mahārāja) Ka-la, who went to the Chinese court with "his wife, his younger brothers and sisters, his sons, daughters and functionaries." He reached there in 1408 A.D. On his death in China, his son Hia-wang was placed on the throne and he sent tributes four times to China between 1415 and 1425, "but after that time their tribute-bearers became more rare." During the period of Wan-li (1573-1619) the king of Pu-ni died without any male issue and a civil war ensued. After all the male competitors were killed, a daughter of the late king was put on the throne.[108] We hardly know anything about other places of Borneo, but it has been stated that in the year 1417, the eastern ruler of Borneo called Paduka Pa-ha-la, the western king called Ma-ha-la-ch'ih (Mahārāja) and the king of the Mountain of Ka-la-ba-ting designated Paduka Prabu (Prabhu) sailed for China, with their families, to pay their homage and tribute.[109] All these data, admittedly very meagre, cannot help us to draw up the framework of a political history of even a part of Borneo, not to speak of the whole of the island.

The architecture and sculpture of Borneo have been discussed elsewhere, but even taking all these things into consideration the data are so meagre that it is extremely difficult to judge the standard of civilisation in the Hindu period. Its content, the respective shares of Indian and indigenous elements in the growth of its civilisation cannot be satisfactorily assessed. Some isolated pockets of Hinduism no doubt received direct influence from India, but its extent and depth in regard to time and space cannot be visualised at present. The island being the largest in the Archipelago,

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it could not perhaps invite sufficient number of immigrants. It is even now a sparsely populated country. In this background Indian culture could not perhaps have sufficient impact on the life of the mass of the people. Besides, piracy in the neighbouring seas, specially around the Nicobars, the Strait of Malacca, the sea-shore of Indo-China, must have severely restrained the inflow of Indian immigrants and their culture into Borneo, where everything tended to be lost on account of its enormous size and the scattered nature of its population.

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CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The languages of Indonesia and Malaysia constitute a branch of the Austronesian languages, which have sometimes been combined with other groups to constitute the Austric family. Investigators have observed that the Austronesian group of languages covers, almost exclusively, the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans extending from Madagascar to the Easter Island West of Chile and from Formosa in the North to New Zealand in the South. It spreads over certain parts of the Malacca Peninsula and perhaps over some other regions of the continent of Asia as well, but it does not include Australia, Tasmania, New Guinea (except along the coast) and a number of smaller islands in the Pacific and in the eastern part of Indonesia proper where the Papuan idioms are spoken.[1] The Indonesian family of languages, consisting of about 250 languages, belongs to the domain of this Austronesian language.

In this terrain of almost continental dimension, there are languages which are spoken by millions of people ; there are others which are spoken by a few or are becoming extinct. In Sumatra, there are about fifteen languages, of which Achenese and Gayo are spoken in the North and the Batak idioms and Minangkabau in the Central parts. Among other languages, the so-called Middle-Malay dialects and Lampong idioms are current in the South, while Malay dialects are spoken in the eastern tracts, Malay Peninsula and in the adjacent islands. In Java, Sundanese is spoken in the western part, but in certain areas of the North it has got mixed up with Malay and Javanese. The rest of the island speaks Javanese, with the exception of the residencies of Besuki and Pasuruhan, where the Madurese settlers speak Madurese. In the island of Madura and some small adjacent islands the language is Madurese, which has been to a large

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extent, influenced by Javanese. Balinese is spoken in the island of Bali and in a part of Lombok. Although Balinese betrays strong Indo-Javanese influences, it is, in structure and syntax, more intimately connected with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of West Sumbawa. Dayak and Dayak idioms are spoken in large parts of the island of Borneo, but the coasts and interior tracts along the rivers speak various Malay dialects having strong similarity with Malay, as used in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.[2] In the northern zone of Borneo, Philippine dialects are spoken in some places. There are no doubt various differences among these languages, but the outstanding characteristics of their grammar, phonetics, morphology and syntax are essentially the same.

Of the hundreds of languages of the Malayo-Indonesian world, only Javanese has a rich literature of its own, dating perhaps from the ninth century A.D. Extant literary works, with definite dates do not go beyond A.D. 996.[3] If we therefore wish to study specimens of an earlier Indonesian language, we shall have to focus our attention on a proto-Malay or arche-type Malay inscription dating from A.D. 683.[4] The earliest dated Old-Javanese inscription is from A.D. 809.[5] The Oldest dated inscription of Bali is from A.D. 882, while the oldest images from that island may be referred to the period between the 8th and the 10th century A.D.[6] The basic structure of these languages, in the 7th century A.D., being more or less uniform, as it is even now, this enabled, I believe, the Chinese analists to describe this common parlance as Kouen-louen. A study of these inscriptions reveals sprinklings of Sanskrit words. Unfortunately, an Old-Malayan or Old-Sumatran literature does not exist any more, but the literary genre called Old-Javanese flourished from the 10th to the 15th century A.D.

The Old-Javanese language was called Kavi even in the Majapahitan period, because we come across, in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (25: 2), composed in A.D. 1365, the expression *vidagdeng āgama vruh kavi*, i.e. he was proficient in the āgama-lore and knew the *kavi*-language. The term

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Kavi now denotes traditional literary idiom in general, whether it is written in Old-Javanese or in a later form. The works in kavi-poesy are designated *kakavin*, but in order to understand them one has to study all works of the genre written in about one hundred Sanskrit metres. Besides, there is another class of Sanskrit composition called the *vavacan* which has been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (93 : 2), but it is not clear if it was composed in native metres and looked like the Malay Pontoons. Another class of poetical composition, probably in Sanskrit metre, was called *Lambang* which has been referred to in the *Sutasoma* dating from the 14th century A.D. Here the author speaks, towards the end of the poem, of *kavi gita lambang* i. e. the poet of songs and *lambangs*.[7] The *lambangs* must have become popular by the fourteenth century, because these have also been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. All these idioms and styles, at least most of them refer to poetical compositions, but Old-Javanese had also a rich prose-literature, as we shall see later on.

Old-Javanese literature was fashioned in Central Java, but it flowered into wonderful shape in the court of East-Javanese kings. It seems that already in the 14th century there was a noticeable difference in the idiom of East and Central Java, though it is difficult to say if the present difference was present in the same form or nearly the same form in the Majapahitan period. It is probable that the idiom current in the region of Majapahit and the lower course of the Brantas river was different from the idiom of Kadiri in about the middle sector of that river.[8] In any case, after the fall of Majapahit, which virtually brought about its destruction,[9] Javanese literature bifurcated into two streams, the main one enriching Balinese life and culture, laying there the real matrix of a Middle-Javanese literature, while the other one remained comparatively stagnant in Java. The Muslim kingdoms of Demak and Pajang provided the bridge for transition to New-Javanese in the mainland of Java. The king of Mataram, Sultan Agung (A.D. 1613-46), was a great patron of literature. He had succeeded in bringing the whole of Java under his suzerainty, but the literature produced in Java in the 17th

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and 18th centuries was not creative, and it was mainly devoted to the presentation, in more intelligible language, the products of the earlier literature of the Kadiri and Majapahit periods. This was quite natural, as the literary ideals had lost their moorings, and the administrative and cultural foundations had been profoundly shaken. The impact of Islamic theology, Pañji and Damar Vulan cycles, the Islamic saints, Hindu gods and goddesses, other facts and phenomena, created a strange situation. Amidst the crashing of literary ideals, in which the old was dying but the new was not yet born, writers groped in the darkness for sometime, till New-Javanese evolved out of this flux. Its vocabulary, style and idiom are not exactly similar to those of the Old-Javanese. New-Javanese has developed, broadly speaking, out of the Kadiri-Pajang-Mataram idiom.[10] The various idioms of New-Javanese are now spoken in the form of Krama, Madya, Ngoko, Krama Inggil and Basa Kedatan.[11] Balinese has also, in common with Javanese, vocabularies of courtesy.

The preservation of Old-Javanese literature seems mainly to be due to a historical accident. After the fall of Java at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, the stream of cultural life in East Java did not absolutely dry up, but its main flow turned towards Bali, where an Indo-Balinese society was flourishing for the last few centuries. The princes and the nobility of the Majapahit court, their entourage, including many from the priestly class, and many other people of lesser rank, excepting the community of the Tenggers who stayed back in East Java around the Brama-hill and still continues to live with their old religion, found a ready shelter with their lontar-works and way of life.[12] The products of their literary effort are not thus the offshoots of the Old-Balinese literature as such, but of Old-Javanese, and these came to be known as Middle-Javanese. These Old-Javanese or Middle-Javanese works, which are read and copied even today, set the norm for literary works. Of this Middle-Javanese literature, the poetical composition in native metre called kidung, had probably ts beginning in Kadiri in the thirteenth century,[13] and the

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Bṛhaspatitattva and the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* testify to its popularity.[14] Kidungs were sometimes sung and the singers were possibly designated *vidu mangkidung*, but the point is not free from difficulties, because these terms occur in the Inscriptions of Central Java centuries before the birth of the Middle-Javanese kidungs.[15] It is however quite conceivable that the *vidu mangkidungs* continued their ancient vocations in a newer idiom. Pigeaud thinks that specimens of such native metres have been reflected in the Malay Pontoons and in the perikan-style composition of Java.[16]

Sanskrit language and literature crashgated into this empire of Indonesian languages, as they had nothing in common. It was not surprising that the author of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (7th-8th century) considered the language of Karmaraṅga, Nāḍīkeradvīpa, Varuṣakadvīpa. Nagnadvīpa, Balidvīpa and Yavadvīpa as full of r-sound, indistinct and rough.[17] The Indonesian languages are monosyllabic or di-syllabic, but they have no genders, case, number and inflexions, as in Sanskrit, nor do they form compound words or samāsas, though Sanskrit *sandhi*-rules have been followed here and there. The sequence of words normally determine the structure and meaning of the sentence. In this sphere, the Influence of Sanskrit is necessarily limited : its contribution mainly lies in the sphere of loan-words, rhetoric and prosody. Besides, Sanskrit authors have given the Indonesian writers the theme of their works, but structurally the two languages belong to two different worlds. Sanskrit loan-words have however made deep inroads not only into the vocabulary of Java, but also into that of Malacca, Palembang and continuous areas of Sumatra, a part of Borneo, several coastal regions of Celebes and continuous hinterland. Even remote people like the Papuans of North Guinea have some Sanskrit words in their vocabulary. It has however been recognised that its impact has been far-reaching in Old-Javanese. Gonda has pointed out that in the Old-Javanese-Dutch Dictionary of Juynbol there are 6790 Sanskrit words, while the number of Old-Javanese words does not exceed 6925. In the Malay dictionaries, the

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numher of Sanskrit words will not be less than 750. In the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, the ratio of Skt. and Old-Jav. words is 4 : 9, in the *Kidung Sunda*, written in Middle-Javanese, the ratio is 1 : 4. Broadly speaking, the ratio of Skt. and Old-Javanese words in the kakavins is 1 : 4 or 2:7.[18] Gonda has pointed out that thare are some Skt. words included in the Malay Dictionary of Pigafetta (A.D. 1521) consisting of a vocabulary of 424 words. Similarly, a Malaccan dictionary, consisting of 482 words and compiled by a Chinese author during A.D. 1403-1511, contains some Skt. words.[19] In the Buginese vocabulary of South Celebes, there are some Skt. words denoting business, utensils, religion, *āgama*, administration and social life.[20] In the Bari-language of Central Celebes, in Bimanese, Rotinese, Mangarai (Flores), Sasak (Lombok) and Busang (Central Celebes), we find a number of Skt. loan-words. If we proceed further to the Philippines, we shall detect in Tagalog about 250 Skt. words, of which the majority refer to trade, commerce and material objects. Nor are Skt. loan-words absent from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In the Cam-French dictionary edited by Aymonier and Cabaton in 1906, there are about 700 Skt. words in a vocabulary of 9350.[21] If loan-words be any indication regarding the extent and depth of Indian influences in these areas it would appear that the strongest influence was projected upon the island of Java.

If we now turn our attention to the Islands lying to the West of Java, we shall indeed find many Skt. words in the Achehnese vocabulary. Gonda has stated that there are 155 Indian words in Karo-Batak and 175 in Toba-Batak of Sumatra. The names of Indian week days are current among these people, even as some terms of astronomical and astrological significance.[22] To the further South, in the island of Nias, there are at least 60 Skt. words. The neighbouring islands of Mentaway and Simalur has also received, through Nias, some Sanskrit words. Even such a remote island as Madagascar has adopted the names of Indian months.[23] Besides Sanskrit, some Tamil loan words have also penetrated into some places of Indonesia, and Malay alone can

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boast of a corpus of 105.[24] It has been observed that Tamil loan-words in Indonesian vocabulary increased considerably between the 15th and the 19th centuries on account of the commercial activities of the orang keling i.e. people of Kaliṅga (which denoted, in a general way, the Tamils, South Indians and even Indians in general), the Hindu and Muslim Tamils of the port areas of Malacca and adjacent tracts who kept their accounts in Tamil. These loan-words, from the nature of the case, belong mainly to the domain of trade and commerce. In Javanese, however, the Tamil and Prākṛt loan-words are very few.[25] It has however to be recorded that Sanskrit words of common use are not now-a-days as numerous as they used to be in ancient times.

The propagation of this language was made not only by the Indian Brāhmaṇas and other Indians, but also by the Malayans, Malaccans and Javans who had been subjected to strong Indian influence. In the days of the Śrīvijaya/Śailendra and Majapahit empires, which were Hinduized to a large extent, their wide authority facilitated the dissemination of Indian cultural values in their far-flung dominions.

Brandes has stated[26] that there were three stages in the introduction of Skt. words in Indonesia. In the first stage, Skt. words were small in number : these entered into the Old-Javanese vocabulary through oral speech and propagated through hearing. In the second stage, the number grew large : these written words were studied and consequently the spelling was almost correct. In the third or final stage, the specimens of Skt. writing, as found in Java and Sumatra, were found to be full of grammatical and spelling mistakes. During this time, specially in the Majapahit period, the numerous Skt. words used in Java were perhaps adapted to the daily parlance[27] and found a permanent place in the native vocabulary in a somewhat changed form.

The art of writing in ancient Indonesia and Malaysia was derived, at the initial stage, from southern India, as a study of the inscriptions of these places would testify. Out of this Pallava-Grantha character was evolved the Old-Javanese script, of which the oldest peculiarities appear in the Dinaja

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inscription of 760 A.D.[28] The Pre-Nāgarī script also appears in the eighth century A.D. and proto-Bengali script, some centuries later on, but these were severely limited in time and space and did not permanently affect the evolution of a national script for the countries constituting the Malayo-Indonesian world. The Pallava-Grantha character, as adapted in Java, led to the development of Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese scripts. The Sumatran script of the Middle Ages, as we know it, has also evolved out of this script. The Batak handwriting is merely a variation of the Indonesian Pallava-script. The Rejang and Lampong scripts of South-Sumatra bear striking resemblance with the Old-Javanese script, which has evolved out of Pallava-Grantha characters. Even the remote Cam-handwriting has developed out of the Indian script. Old Filipino and Old Tagalog scripts may also be traced to the Dravidian source.[28a] The emergence of native languages in the records of South-East Asia also occurs in about the same time as in South India, where the Pallava records of the 7th century A.D. begin to use the Tamil language. It may not be quite accidental that old or proto-Malay came to be used in Sumatra, Khmer in Cambodia, Cam in Campa and Old-Javanese in Java without great difference of time lag among them.[29] In a large part of the Malayo-Indonesian world, the writing materials were the *patra* or *kajang*-leaves, just as palm-leaves were used in India, but instead of pen many of them used sharp knives to inscribe the letters with.[30]

The emergence of Central Java, with a Hindu cultural background, promoting art and architecture in the Dieng-Plateau, nursing the scholastic activities of Jñānabhadra and Huining who also used the native language for facility of their work, must have created the necessary climate for the development of Old-Javanese literature. The advent of a superior culture in the plateaus and valleys of Central Java gave the literary effort a new purpose and diction which flowered into the Old-Javanese literature of the 9th-10th century. Chinese references about Kouen-louen, the Proto or Old-Malay inscriptions and the role of native languages in

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scholarly works of Jñānabhadra and Huining seem to indicate that some kind of Indonesian language already existed in Java-Sumatra in the second half of the seventh century A.D. Into this Indonesian language were introduced Sanskrit words in increasingly large numbers, and this led to the growth of Old-Javanese as a literary vehicle. The period of this experimentation possibly covered the years from c. 650-850 A.D. The composition of Sanskrit-Old-Javanese Dictionaries, simple grammars to learn Sanskrit and similar types of works possibly took place during this period. Of the three books whick may tentatively be placed before the tenth century A.D., the lexicography called *Amaramālā* which refers to king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty may be assigned to a period lying within c. A.D. 775-850, when the Śailendra rulers held sway over Central Java. The earliest dated Old-Javanese work is from A.D. 996, which ushers in the classical age of Indo-Javanese literature from c. A.D. 996 to 1400. The patronage extended by the East-Javanese rulers, beginning with Dharmmavaṃśa and Airlangga and continued by the royal houses of Kaḍiri, Sinhasari and Majapahit, principally contributed to the flowering of this wonderful Indo-Javanese literature.

When we study the Indo-Javanese or Indo-Balinese literature, we are astonished at the wide range of the subjects dealt with in it. In 1929, the Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk published a list of the literary works available and classified them under the following heads : (1) the *Vedas* (as known under that name in Bali), *mantras* and *kalpaśāstra* : 177 MSS ; (2) *Agama* or *Dharmmaśāstras*, *Śāsana* and *Nītisāhitya* : 63 MSS : (3) *Vāriga* or *Jyotiṣa*, moral teachings (tutur), cosmogony, *Kāṇḍa* or grammar, prosody, folk-tales, professional literature, *usada* : 592 MSS ; (4) *Itihāsa*, including prose-*parvans*, *kakavin* or poems in Sanskrit metre, *kidung* or native ballads or stories in native metres, *gaguritan* : MSS 159 ; (5) *Babad* or historical works, including *pamañcangs* or genealogical stories : MSS 35 ; (6) *Tantri* or fables, the source being Sanskrit or native stories : MSS 9. In 1950, Poerbatjaraka and other scholars brought out further account

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of Indonesian MSS to enrich the list described above. This classification of the Old and Middle-Javanese literature serves to show the immense compass and richness of this literature.

The *Vedas*, as such, are not known to exist in Bali or any other place of Indonesia, though the name is quite well-known there. Goris has stated that by *Vedas* the Balinese understood nothing but *tuturs* or *mantras*, charms, etc., because, while translating the word *gūḍhamantra* of the *Arjunavivāha* into Balinese the word has been translated by the word *Vedda*.[31] The proof may not however be deemed to be conclusive, because what the Balinese gloss-writer seemed to convey was that the *guḍhamantra* was as secret as the *Vedas* were. It may be recalled that there were *Veda*-knowing *ṛtvig* priests who installed the image of Agastya in A.D. 760, as the Dinaja-inscription tells us.[32] Their compatriots do not appear to have given up the study of the *Vedas*, because, according to the testimony of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, the Holy Bhāmana had "penetrated the *Vedas*" and Viṣṇu was proficient in Sāma japa i.e. *Sāmaveda* incantations.[33] It would indeed appear surprising that in spite of the steady arrival of the vipras or Brāhmaṇas from India to Java, at least up to 1365 A.D.,[34] the Brāhmaṇas of Java would not study the *Vedas*. Even as late as the last quarter of the 15th century, Brahmarāja-Gaṅgādhara has been described in an inscription as Mahādvijaśreṣṭha (the greatest of the twice-born, caturvedapāraga (who has mastered the four *Vedas*) and sarvaśāstraparisamāpta (who has completed the study of all the scriptures).[35] The description does not appear, from the context of the inscription, to be meaningless. Here the four *Vedas* do not obviously mean the four *tuturs*. It is not unlikely that the Brāhmaṇas of Java studied the *Vedas* there, but that these works have either been lost or are kept as precious secret treasure by the Balinese padaṇḍas from the profane gaze of the non-Brahmins. Be that as it may, the names of books having the component word *Veda* in them deal with *mantras* or *stutis* of different kinds, but, by and large, no full *mantra* or *stuti* has so far been discovered in India.[36] For example the *Caturveda*, though somewhat

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corrupt, reveal some semblance with the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad*, but what is known in Bali as *Atharvavedaśiras* has no similarity with the Upaniśadic *Atharvavedaśiras*.[37] What has been preserved in Bali are the *Rk*, *Yajus* and *Sāmavedaśiras* which are sung, not recited, on the first day of the bright half of the month and on pūrṇimā i.e, full-Moon nights. Other *mantras* include *Vedaparikramasārasaṁhitākiraṇa*,[38] in which many subsidiary *mantras* accompanied by various mudrās, prāṇāyāma, nyāsa, kumbhaka, pūraka, recaka, etc. The *Buddhaveda* is similarly the daily hymn for performing Buddhist rituals in Tāntrik way, and some parts of them are well-known in Nepal.[39] A famous śloka in the *Udānavarga*, Pāli *Dhammapada* and the *Sarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra*, in a briefer form, inscribed on the hill of the Swat region, is now found, several thousand miles away, in a MS of Bali.[40] *Me-Veda* also bears a similar stamp. Indeed, there is no trace of Vedic mantra to be found anywhere in Indonesia, excepting the fragment of the famous Gāyatrī-*mantra* (*Bhargodevasya dhīmahī*),[41] but Gonda has drawn our attention to the fact that the Gāyatrī-*mantra* has also been independently quoted in the post-Vedic and post-epic works of India like the *Saura* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa*.[42] The *mantras*, hymns or stotras discovered in Bali have been dedicated to Sūrya, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Vāyu, Pṛthivī, Yama, Bāsuki, Umā, Gaṅgā, Ākāśa, Gaṇapati, Agni, Indrānī, Pitṛ, Rati, Varuṇa, etc. The rituals in connection with the worship of various gods and goddesses contained, in appropriate cases, śarīra mantra, sthitimantra, astramantra, karaśuddhi, caturaṅgula, prāṇāyāmamantra, udakāñjali, pādyārghya, ācamanīya, etc. These are also called *Vedas*.

The Buddhist stutis or hymns are also substantial in number and they include *Pañcadaśarasastuti*, *Śrī Yajurveda Buddhastuti*, *Bauddha Mūlastuti*, *Vajrānalastuti*, *Sarvasiddhistuti*, etc. Most of these *stutis* or hymns belong to the school of Tāntric Buddhism, and some of them, as for instance, the *sarvasiddhistuti*, betrays local influence. Brāhmaṇic influence on many of the stutis is also quite distinct in many cases.

Besides *mantras*, charms and incantations were also

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widely current and still are in large areas of the Malayo-Indonesian world.[43]

The theological background of some of these mantras, or even segments of these mantras, could no doubt be traced to India, but the full *mantra*, in the correct sequence of Balinese specimens, has not yet been traced to India. Considering the conservative nature in religious matters, as revealed generally in the construction of caṇḍis according to śilpaśāstras and the fashioning of divine images, as portrayed in sculpture, and considering further that these deities were worshipped both in India and Indonesia, it seems less likely that the *mantras* of well-known deities were composed in Java or Bali, though this possibility cannot be altogether ruled out in regard to obscure deities. The *mantras* have changed very little since the days of the *sūtras ;* so the deviations in the *mantras* of Bali, if these be so, would underline the necessity for a more comprehensive probe than has hitherto been done.

Of the Purāṇas, only the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has been found in Java in a prose and a poetical recension. Gonda thinks that the work (prose) may be referred to the 10th-11th century.[44] There are many Sanskrit words in this work and their ratio to Old-Javanese would be 4 : 9.[45] The subject-matter of this work has been taken, for the major part, directly from a Skt. recension, although in certain sections, it sometimes better tallies with the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* or even the *Varāhapurāṇa*. It appears from a comparison of the Old-Javanese text with the Calcutta recension of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* that the arrangement of the topics differs. The Old-Javanese prose recension has a poetical version in eighteen sargas called the *Pṛthuvijaya* or *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa kakavin*, composed by Aṣṭaguṇa, probably in the 12th century A.D. Many stories of Paurāṇic style and others of mainly cosmo-gonical nature have been discovered in Bali. The *Tantu Panggelaran*, *Manik Maya*, *Agastyaparva*, *Tattva savang suvung*, *Adipurāṇa*, etc. belong to this genre. The *Tantu Panggelaran* consists of seven chapters.[46] A perusal of the work would sometimes waft the reader to an Indian atmos-

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phere, but the framework is un-Indian and some of the beliefs may even revert to Pre-Hindu times. These elements, coupled with floating anecdotes of religious and cosmogonical nature brought from India or South-East Asia, mixed up with contemporary Tantric and other practices of Indonesia, have created this strange work. It may have been composed between the 14th and the 16th century. The *Manik Maya*,[47] also of cosmogonical nature, has incorporated many stories and anecdotes which we come across in the *Ādiparva*, *Tantu Panggelaran* and other Javanese and Indian traditions. According to Veth, the work, as we have it, was composed in 1725 A.D.[48] The *Tattva savang suvung*,[49] another cosmogonical work, deals with the story of the creation of the gods, planets, men, women, etc. The work *Ādipurāṇa*[50] is at once a mixture of saṃhitā, purāṇic stories and dynastic lists ; it also recounts the duties of persons of various categories to one another, etc. The hero of the story is king Bismanagara, the king of Praṣṭanagara who travelled in various places in a spiritual quest for salvation. The *Agastyaparva*,[51] another work of Paurāṇic nature, bears the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and ethical literature. The questiou made by Dṛḍhasya and answered by his father Bhagavan Agastya led to the narration of the story of creation, of gods, Manus, the planets, sins, the consequences of conducting worship with faulty rituals, etc. Another important work of this category is the *Bhuvanapurāṇa*, an Old-Javanese work, which presents us, in right paurāṇic style, a dialogue between Parameśvara and Vaśiṣṭha in Kailāsa about caturāśrama and the varṇas.

There are some Old-Javanese theological and philosophical works which betray considerable influence projected by the Śaiva and Buddhist writings of the Tantric schools. A work of this category is the *Bhuvanakoṣa*,[52] a yoga-manual of the Śaiva-school, which discusses some theological and philosophical questions in eleven paṭalas or chapters. There are Skt. ślokas in the work followed by Old-Javanese translation or annotation. A work of similar nature is the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa*[53] ; it also contains some Sanskrit ślokas

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followed by Old-Javanese translation. In this work, Umā and Kumāra seek instructions from Īśvara or Śiva, The most important section of this work deals with Paramatattva which extols non-existence or śūnyatā, which is a familiar doctrine in the Tantrik philosophy of the Buddhist and Śaiva schools of thought. The *Bṛhaspatitattva*,[54] perhaps also called Śivatattva, deals with Śaiva philosophy. It has seventy-four Skt. ślokas with long or short annotations in Old-Javanese. It opens with a dialogue between Bhaṭṭāraka Īśvara and Bṛhaspati about the essence of pure knowledge and might have been composed and elaborated for the benefit of those who believed in Tāntrik Śaivism. The *Tattva sang hyang Mahājñāna*,[55] interspersed with verses and written in Paurāṇic style, deals with various aspects of liṅga-worship.

Of Buddhist theological and philosophical works, the most important one is the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*[56] of which a part constituted the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*.[57] The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* was probably composed in Central Java during the Śailendra hegemony and revised during the reign of king Siṇḍok (A.D. 929-947) of East-Java by Sambharasūryāvaraṇa who had also composed a work called *Subhūtitantra*, a favourite work of king Kṛtanagara (A.D. 1268-92).[58] Goris has creditably distinguished three layers in the composition of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*.[59] The oldest layer may be about one hundred years older than the *Virāṭaparva* of Java, which was composed in A.D. 996.[60] It is a manual of the Buddhists belonging to the Vajrayāna school. The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya* consists of 42 Skt. ślokas followed by Old-Javanese annotation.

The *Agamas* or *Dharmmaśāstras* of Java and Bali may be studied under the heads of *nīti*-stories and *nīti-śāstras* or *tutur*. Regarding Āgama, the *Bṛhaspatitattva* says ; *āgama ngaranya ikang aji inupapattyan de sang guru yekā āgama ngaranya* i.e. āgama means the instructions given by the *guru* or preceptor. In the story of *Kuñjarakarṇa*,[61] Dhyānī Buddha Vairocana instructs Kuñjarakarṇa, a cursed Yakṣa, about dharma and Vinaya, and guides him through various

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religious experiences. In the *Bhuvanatattvapariçaya*,[62] the writer has given an account of the previous life of Kuñjarakarṇa and Pūrṇavijaya. Both these works refer to the fruits of karma, transmigration of soul, meditation, salvation, etc. Kern assigned the work to the twelveth century, while Juynboll and others are inclined to place it in the fourteenth century. Other works of this category, though not so well-known, include the *Palutuk*,[63] *Nītivrata*,[64] *Raṇayajña*,[65] etc.

We should now like to discuss *Rajapatiguṇḍala*.[66] It was probably composed in the thirteenth century A.D. It is said to be composed by king Bhatati who seems to be identical with king Kṛtanagara. It deals with various stages of religious life, discusses about persons who can be yogīśvara, devaguru, their rights, gradation of people, etc. Another book of this class is the *Praniti raja kapa kapa*, of which a modern recension has been composed in the ḍaṇḍang-gub metre.[67] The work consists of ten *śloḳas*, each of ten feet. It deals with the duties of royal officials and court etiquette. Another book of this genre is the *Navanatya*, which also deals with etiquette at the royal court.[68] The *Kāmandaka Rājanīti* which has nothing in common with the Sanskrit text, is a manual of administration for princes and administrators.[69] The work called *Nitipraya*, said to be written by Viṣṇu and edited by Vyāsa, was composed for king Suparkadeva of Ayodhyā, about to be attacked by his enemy, Aji Vangvang of Danavu-avu.[70] The king, following the advice of Nitipraya became victorious. The *Nītiśāstra kakavin*, well-known in Bali as *Nītisara* has 120 stanzas in fifteen cantos.[71] It was probably composed towards the end of the Majapahit period. Scattered Sanskrit ślokas are found in the work and it contains many aphorisms or sayings based on religion and ethics. The *Sārasamuccaya*[72] also contains many Sanskrit ślokas, which have been traced into the *Ādi*, *Udyoga* and *Anuśāsana* parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, etc. It migth have been composed in the fourteenth century A.D. Another Old-Java. work of this genre is the *Ślokāntara*[73] which contains eighty-three Sanskrit Ślokas. The *Tattva ning vyavahāra*[74] which is not perhaps very old

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discusses the origin of the four varṇas, the duties of kings etc.

Many of the Old-Jav. works on Jurisprudence which we propose to discuss now are based on the *Manusaṃhitā*.[75] Indeed, the *Purvādhigama* has clearly stated that a prāḍvivāk or judge must be "an ācārya whose knowledge in all *śāstras* like *Dharmaśāstra, Kuṭaramānava, Sārasamuccaya, Cānakya, Kāmandaka*, etc. shall be complete".[76] The *Kuṭaramānava*, edited by Jonker,[77] was largely based upon the *Manusaṃhitā*, specially its eighth and ninth chapters. It deals with civil and criminal cases, and its authority in Java and Bali was unrivalled. The *Purvādhigama*, to which reference has been made above, has been called *Śivaśāsana* in some colophons of the MSS[78] and, according to Van Naerssen, this work has been referred to in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (81 : 1). It has perhaps to be dated in the beginning of the thirteenth century or the commencement of the Majapahit period (after c. 1292 A.D.) It discusses about Śaiva dharmmamahāmātras, dharmmādhyakṣas, different bhujaṅgas, etc. The law-book *Svarajambhu* is based mainly upon the *Manusaṃhitā*, specially its eighth chapter which deals with aṣṭādaśavyavahāra. The Skt. *ślokas* have been beautifully translated into Old-Javanese, but the annotations are sometimes original.[79] It is noteworthy that some Skt. ślokas of the eighth chapter of the *Manusaṃhitā* deemed to be interpolations have been found in the Old-Jav. work. Van Naerssen has placed the work to the fourteenth century. The *Ādigama*[80] is a late Old-Javanese law-book. It discusses about aṣṭaduṣṭa, aṣṭacora, the rules of grazing, etc. Another law-book is the *Krama ning sākṣi*.[81] It also contains some Skt. ślokas, even as the law-books called *Aṣṭādaśavyavahāra, Devadaṇḍa, Ṛṣiśāsana*, etc. do. It is difficult to say how far these law-books were followed in practice, because there were inherent stresses between Hindu laws dominated by their caste-system and the Indonesian customary-laws or *adat*.

The irresistible appeal of the Old-Javanese epics and the *kakavins* often blur our vision, and we are apt to forget that

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their brilliance and polish are due to Skt. rhetoric and prosody, enriched further by its lexicographical literature. The influence of Skt. grammar, though not pronounced. is not altogether absent. Of the Old-Javanese works falling under this category, the *Svaravyañjana*[82] deals with Skt. phonetics, explaining terms like ekamātra, dvimātra, guru, laghu, antaḥsvara, anunāsika, tālavya, sandhi-rules, etc., which were explained by Old-Javanese paraphrases. The *Kārakasaṃgraha*,[83] another work, describes itself in the colophon as "a compendium dealing with the endings indicating the relations between a noun and a verb". The work accordingly deals with nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative and genetive cases. Gonda says that some of the definitions given come very near to Sarvavarman's *Kātantra* which is expressly stated to be the basis of this work.[84] It also refers to a text called *Mahātantra* and designates Pāṇini as a kavīndra or foremost of the poets. A MS of this name refers to Vararuci.[85] That *Cāndravyākaraṇa* was also studied appears from a reference to it in copperplate no. 3 of Sekar, Bajanegara, where ḍang ācarya Nādendra, Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions, has been described as having completed the grammar of Candra.[86] In addition to grammar, there were texts to facilitate exercises from one language to another. One such work is *Kṛtabasa*[87] which is an abbreviation of Saṃskṛtabhāṣā, and constitutes a part of the *Svaravyañjana* described above. It gives lessons about learning Sanskrit by translating easy Skt. texts into Old-Javanese. Other books of this category are the *Ādisvara*,[88] *Sukṣavasa*,[89] Ekalavya,[90] etc. There is also an Oldjavanese-Sanskrit lexicographical work which offers the Skt. equivalent of Old-Javanese words and multiple names of many Indian deities. Another important work is the *Caṇḍakiraṇa*[91] which may mean keen rays or be the corrupted form of *Chandaḥkiraṇa* (the rays of metres), *Chandaḥkaraṇa* (the making of Chandaḥs) or *Candra (vyā) karaṇa*. The first part of the work deals with metres ; the last part is something like a Skt. śabdakoṣa or lexicography and gives, in metres, the Old-Jav. equivalent of some Skt. words. In between is set a part wherein the name of the

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Amaramālā occurs. It has been stated that the work was composed by orders of the Śailendra King Jitendra who is otherwise unknown to Javanese epigraphy. It has been supposed[92] that the work was composed not to facilitate the learning of Sanskrit but to understand the Skt. words in the Old-Javanese texts. Poets of ancient Java have used Skt. rhetoric and prosody with remarkable efficiency and almost all the metres known to Skt. prosody have been used in the kakavins. It was not therefore surprising that works on Skt. metres were composed, and of them the most important one is the *Vṛttasañcaya* written by Mpu Tanakung in about the twelveth century A.D.[93] It refers to Rāmasa-muni in the fourth śloka and to Piṅgala and Piṅgalaśāstra in the seventh and one hundred ninth śloka respectively, but Kern's comparison of this Chandaḥśāstra with Skt. *Piṅgalachandaḥsūtra* and Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara* has not yielded any positive result.[94] The work under discussion has not dealt with metres measured by feet and those measured by prosodical instants. It has discussed theories, offered some illustrative stanzas and given examples of 96 Skt. metres. We have also fragments of other texts like the *Vṛttāyana* which deals with vṛṣabhagativilasita and maṇiguṇanikara.[95] The metres treated in the *Cantakaparva*[96] is somewhat different from those of the *Vṛttasañcaya*. Gonda has drawn our attention to the fact that the Skt. term *śloka* i.e. stanza consisting of four quarters of eight syllables each has been preserved in Sundanese, where the term corrupted into siloka, denotes 'apotheqms', metaphorical sayings, especially when dealing with esoteric or religious lore, but more particularly to pontoon-style composition, which is neither prose nor poetry. Similarly, the Skt. term pāda i.e. fourth-part of a regular stanza is known in Javanese and Sundanese but it denotes both a stanza and a punctuation mark or stop between lines or at the end of a phrase or sentence. The Old-Jayanese authors have also shown commendable proficiency in the use of Skt. alaṃkāra like anuprāsa, yamaka, apanhuti, etc.[97] Even stereotyped descriptions of Skt. literature have been faithfully introduced in the Javanese kakavins.

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We also possess some works on the medical sciences (*usada*), astrology and astronomy. It is a common phenomenon in the medical literature of the Malayo-Indonesian world that deities have often been invoked. The native physicians of Malaysia called Pavang or Bomor even now use words of physiology and anatomy, which are essentially Sanskrit, e.g., naḍi (=nāḍī), panca inderiya (=pañca indriya), sendi (=sandhi or joint of bones), kapāla (forehead), roma (hair), selesem (=śleṣmā or cough), murca (=mūrchā or swoon), cerna (=jīrṇa or digestion), etc. A complete Javanese work on *Usada* is preserved in the British Museum ;[98] in this work physicians have been advised to utter *mamantranins* over the prepared medicine. Some of the works on *Usada* (cod. 4620,3942,3943 (1), etc.) invoke the names of Śiva-Bhaṭāra, Śivaliṅga or the names of Dhyānī Buddhas, etc. Goris has referred to the fact that about hundred works on *Usada* have been discovered in Bali, and some of them refer to prana, apana, samana, sadana (or udana), byan and veins like iḍā, piṅgala, suṣumna, etc.[99] The *vāriga* or astronomical-astrological literature discusses muhūrttalakṣaṇa, śubhācāradivasa, five kṣaṇas of the day, etc.[100] A Cheribon MS refers to the various Indian rāśis. Most of the eight names in the Diviners' table of the Bataks of Central Sumatra are Indian. The ancient inscriptions of Indonesia dating from comparatively early times prove the great assiduity with which the Indonesian people studied the science of time, constellation of stars, etc.[101] A detailed study of ancient times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca has been made by Braddell.[102]

We may now devote our attention to the study of the epics of India which found their way into the countries of South-East Asia. This must have happened at least in the sixth century A.D. if not earlier. It may be recalled that in a letter addressed to the Chinese emperor in 515 A.D., Pa-ka-da-to, king of Langkasuka, a State on the eastern coast of Malaya, referred to the famous mountain Gandhamādana (which was uprooted by Hanumān in a famous episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) and may accordingly indicate the

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acquaintance of some people with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Ths epics became so popular in Indo-China that the Bhil Kantal inscription (sixth century)[103] of Kambuja refers to the daily chanting of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, while the Trakien inscription of Campā (seventh century)[104] refers to the construction of a temple of Vālmīki, whose image was installed therein. These stories have been further immortalised in the relief panels of Prambanan, Panataran, Angkor Vat, Bapuyon, etc. The oldest saga of South-East Asia, as preserved in writing, is the Old-Javanese *Rāmayaṇa*. Later recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* include such writings as the *Ramayana Sasak*, *Rama Kling*, *Serat Kanda*, *Rama Kidung Bali*, *Rama Tambang*, the *Ramakien* of Thailand, the *Hikayat seri Rama* of Malaya, the *Serat Rama* and numerous other less well-known recensions.[105] Kats has stated that in East Java alone there are some 1200 different versions of the Rāma-saga.[106]

The Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was written by Yogīśvara, which seems to be a spiritual title of the poet.[107] His original name, according to the Balinese tradition,[108] was Rājakusuma or Kusumavicitra. The work is generally believed to have been composed in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. or immediately thereafter during the reign of Siṇḍok.[109] The kakavin is divided into twentysix cantos consisting of 2774 strophes.[110] The work is partly a translation and partly an adaptation of the Skt. *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Ravaṇavadha*[111] and has been written in various Skt. metres. The Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* is, however, an independent work, almost a free translation of the Skt. work.[112] Of the Old-Javanese works based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, reference may be made to the poem *Sumanasāntaka* which means 'killed by flower'.[113] It was composed by Monaguna, as stated in conto 21 : 3, during the reign of king Varṣajaya of Kaḍiri (A.D. 1104). The work deals with the theme of Aja and Indumatī. The Old-Javanese poem *Hariśraya*, based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, recounts the combat between Viṣṇu and demons like Vajramuṣṭi, Virūpākṣa, Māli, Sumāli and others.[114] The *Arjunavijaya* kakavin[115] deals with the fight between

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Arjuna-sahasravāhu and Rāvaṇa. Its poet Mpu Tantular lived during the reign of Hayam Vuruk and composed the work after c. 1378 A.D.

The *Mahābhārata* was also equally popular in Indonesia. Some parvas of the *Mahābhārata* were composed in East-Java during the reign of Dharmavaṃśa tguh Anantavikrama (A.D. 991-1007), by whose orders the *Ādi*.[116] *Virāṭa*[117] *and Bhīṣma-parva*[118] were composed. The date given in the *Virāṭaparva* is A.D. 996. The Old-Javanese recensions which sometimes contain Skt. verses to enhance the authority and sacred character of the work are not a faithful translation of the Sanskrit original, but partly an abridged paraphrase and partly a condensed translation of the original. The story-part is more episodic and has been treated in the author or authors' own language. Among other parvas, we have the *Udyoga*[119] and abridged recensions of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth books of the *Mahābhārata*. The Old-Javanese *Bhagavadgītā*[120] is emboxed in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, but its original has not yet been found in India. It does not fully agree with the Kāśmīr-recension of the same nor is its quotation from the *Bhagavadgītā* to be found in Al-Biruni's work. The *Bhāratayuddha*, an independent work based on the *Mahābhārata*, was composed by Mpu Sedah in A.D. 1157, during the reign of Jayabhaya, but when the poet fell into disgrace the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh, a Buddhist author.[121] The author discusses in the beginning the parleys of Kṛṣṇa before the commencement of the war and narrates incidents and episodes leading to the death of Bhīṣma, Bhagadatta, Abhimanyu, Jayadratha, Bhuriśravā, Karṇa, Ghaṭotkaca, Śalya and others. Of the last parvas of the *Mahābhārata*, only the *āśrama, mauṣala, prasthānika and the svargārohana* parva have been found, and the first three of these have been edited by Juynboll..[122] These works might have been composed in the fourteenth century A.D.[123] The Old-Javanese *Harivaṃśa*, written by the Buddhist author Panuluh, has been spun around the love-episode of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, in which Kṛṣṇa had to fight against the Pāṇḍavas and others. Among works based on the *Mahābhārata*,

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we may refer to the *Harivijaya*,[124] which narrates some stories of the *Ādiparva*, such as the Churning of the Milk Sea, the fight between gods and demons, the death Vāli, the story of Rāhu, etc. The duel between Sunda and Upasunda for Lottama (Tilottamā) has been the theme of the Old-Jav. poem *Ratnavijaya*.[125] The *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* or *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa* (Canto 51 and 50 : 1), another Old-Javanese kakavin of uncertain date, refers to the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmaṇa-kumāra to get the beautiful damsel Kṣitisundarī, in which Ghaṭotkaca came to the succour of the former and turned the scale of the war. The writer is said to be Panuluh who seems to have paid eulogy to king Jayākṛta.[126] The *Arjuna-vivāha* is a poem in thirtysix cantos.[127] Unable to fight against Nivātakavaca, the gods thought of securiug the help of Arjuna who was undergoing penances. His strength of mind was tested by a bevy of celestial damsels, his knowledge by Indra and his prowess by Nīlkaṇṭha in the guise of a kirāta or hunter. The demon was ultimately killed by Arjuna. This work was composed by Kaṇva during the reign of king Airlangga (A.D. 1019-42). The poem *Pārthayajña*,[128] another Old-Javanese work, belongs to the *Mahābhārata*-cycle of stories. It narrates the story how the Pāṇḍavas lost their kingdom in a game of chess, went into exile, how Arjuna, after various adventures, reached the Indrakila hill, where he practised penances and received the celestial weapons, together with the blessings of the Kirāta or hunter (Śiva). This work may be dated in the thirteenth century A.D. The poem *Indra-vijaya*[129] is based upon the *Udyogaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (ślokas CCXXVIII-DLXV) and deals with the story of Nahuṣa. Other important works based on the *Mahābhārata* include the *Koravāśrama*,[130] the *Kṛṣṇāntaka*,[131] the *Navaruci* (also called *Bimasuci* or *Devaruci*),[132] *Sang Satyavan*,[133] etc. The *Koravāśrama* unfolds the story of the resurrection of the heroes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, their spiritual adventures and other episodes. The first four cantos of the *Kṛṣṇāntaka* have been based upon the *Āśramavāsaparva*, the next twenty cantos are principally based upon the *Muṣalapara*, while the rest of the work draws its inspiration from the *Prasthānikaparva*. The

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mainly deals with the story of Bhīma's adventures in search of holy water. The story *Sang Satyavān* deals with the story of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, but the framework of the story is quite different.

Among other Old-Javanese works, whose source cannot be easily determined or which occurs in different Sanskrit texts, we may refer to the *Smaradahana* which describes, in forty cantos, the episode of the burning of Kāma or Love-god.[34] It was composed by Mpu Dharmaja durīng the reign of king Kāmeśvara I (c. A.D. 1115-30) or II (c. A.D. 1185). It has been stated in the *Pamañcangah Kidung* that the materials of this poem have been derived from the *Candapurāṇa*, which was supposed to be the corrupted form of *Skandapurāṇa*. A rapid comparison of the Old-Javanese text with the Sanskrit one, as given in the *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa* and the *Māheśvarakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* convinced me that there was no basis for the report of the *Kidung*.[135] The poem *Lubdhaka* extols liṅga-worship by narrating the story of a hunter who was seated on a *vilva*-tree on a pitch-dark night and was trembling out of fear. The story tells us how the accidental dropping of a *vilva*-leaf on the Śiva-liṅga which was situated below brought about his ultimate salvation.[136] The author of this work was Tanakung, but it is difficult to say if he is identical with the author of the *Vṛttasañcaya*. The story of *Sutasoma*, also called *Puruṣādasānta*,[137] describes how the demon Puruṣāda had conquered all kings of India and how he was defeated by Sutasoma who was an incarnation of Bodhisattva. The beginnings of the story can be traced to Vedic literature and it gradually found place in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina literature. The author of this work was Mpu Tantular who might be the same as the writer of the *Arjunavijaya*, and seems to have flourished in the fourteenth century A.D. The popular poem *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*[138] has been spun around the romance of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. It was composed by Triguṇa, as stated in canto sixty-three, during the reign of king Varṣajaya in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. The poem *Kālayavanāntaka*,[139] also called *Kṛṣṇavijaya* deals, among others, with the story of the fight between Kṛṣṇa and

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Kaṃsa, and narrated how Kālayavana was burnt by the fire of the eyes of the sage Mucakuṇḍa. Other Old-Javanese works of the epic-paurāṇic cycle include the *Rāmavijaya*,[140] the *Bhomakāvya*,[141] and some other works less well-known. The *Rāmavijaya* is a poem in sixty-three cantos, describing a fight between Jamadagni and Aṅgaraparṇa (called Angapan) over the girl Indra Renuk ; in this fight Arjunasahasravāhu, Indra and others were involved. Mpu Bradah was the author of a popular Old-Javanese poem called the *Bhomakāvya*, in which Viṣṇu, in his incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, killed the demon Bhoma, who was his son, by lifting him from earth which constantly sustained him. This work might have been composed in the fourteenth century.

The epic literature of the Malayo-Indonesian world is closely connected with the wayang or shadow-plays which are extremely popular, especially in Java. It seems to correspond to the Skt. *Chāyānāṭaka*, under which category we may enlist at least seven works, of which the oldest extant one seems to be the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa dating from the thirteenth century A.D. The Skt. *Chāyānāṭaka* seems to be earlier than the shadow-plays of Indonesia, because, Nīlakaṇṭha, while commenting on word *rūpopajīvanam* occurring in *Mahābhārata* (12. CCXCV : 5), has stated : "*rūpopajīvanam Jalamaṇḍapiketi dakṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddham, yatra sūkṣmavastram vyavadhāya carmamayairākārai rājāmātyādinām caryā pradarśyate.*[142] This seems to prove that the shadow-plays of South-India had some of the essential characteristics of the wayang plays of Java, such as screens or canvas and leather puppets, and the reference in the *Mahābhārata* occurs at a time when the Pallavas of Southern India were just sailing out for their colonising activities in the Far East. The Javanese wayang may therefore have evolved out of the Indian shadow-plays. Of the seven categories of the Javanese stage-plays, the wayang-Purva seems to be the oldest. Though some scholars think that it might have existed as early as the ninth century A.D., no clear reference to it can be deduced from literature before the 11th century, when the *Arjunavivāha* refers to it. The subject-matter of wayang and lakon stories mainly centre

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round episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, specially the *Ādi*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*-stories, the *Arjunasahasravāhu* cycle, the Pāṇḍava cycle of stories and others not exactly connected with India.[143]

There are also works of miscellaneous type in Indonesia, often of romantic and folk-lore type which might have been inspired by Indian works of the same genre, with influences projected from other sources as well. Many of the names are undoubtedly Indian, and some of the stories may also be traced to India. Such stories include not only folk-tales, but also beast-fables, of which the most important one is the *Tantrī Kāmandaka*,[144] which has special relationship with the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. The *Pañcatantra* has Siamese and Laotian recensions, and at least twelve different recensions in Indonesia. C. Hooykaas and Venkatasubbiah[144a] have traced most of the Sanskrit verses to Indian originals. Some of the Old-Jav. MSS refer to one Vasubhāga, a name that reminds one of Durgasiṃha Vasubhāga of the Kannada versions. The *Tantrī Kāmandaka* has six so-called sargas, which relate several stories of the Indian recensions. There are also other independent beast-fables, some of which are also current in Bengal.[145]

There are also some genealogical and legendary works with a mythical background. The *Aji Śaka* is a well-known story of this category, and it has been narrated by Raffles.[146] Fictions have run riot into this type of work, and although the general drift of the story has some lesson for us, hardly any useful fact can be gleaned from such works. Of the historical works, the most important one is the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*,[147] composed by poet Prapañca in A.D. 1365. The poem contains ninety-eight cantos in various Skt. metres. Although primarily concerned with the reign of king Hayam Vuruk, it also gives us some earlier data. In 93 :1, we read that Buddhāditya of Kāñcī composed a Skt, panegyric (a *Bhogāvali* in *ślokas*) and Mutali (Mudaliar ?) Sahṛdaya, a Brahmin, praised the king in ślokas. These facts indicate that even in A.D. 1365, Indian Brahmins came to Java and that the place of Sanskrit at the royal court was still very

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high. The other important historical work is the *Pararaton*[148] which was probably composed between A.D. 1278 and 1478.[149] It is written in Middle-Javanese prose and narrates the story of the kings of Majapahit and their ancestors in eighteen chapters. Local gossips have sometimes left their imprint on this work. Modern historical traditions are preserved in the *pamañcangahs* which also constitute an important branch of the *babad* or historical literature of Indonesia. They are, however, mainly concerned with dynastic histories, designed to consolidate royal power and glorify it. Works of this genre do not come within the purview of the present work.

While both Java and Bali have a Pre-Islamic literature, the same cannot be said in regard to Sumatra and Malaya, two other considerable places of the Malyo-Indonesian world which had been subjected to strong Indian influences. As a segment of the powerful Śrīvijaya empire, South-Eastern Sumatra with its headquarters at Palembang had served as an important centre of Buddhist scholarship. Not only had I-tsing studied *śabdavidyā* (grammar) here in A.D. 671, but also other Chinese pilgrims devoted their time and energy to the study and translation of the Buddhist sacred lore into the Chinese language.[150] The international reputation of Suvarṇadvīpa as a centre of Buddhist learning seems to have continued undiminished up to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., because it was during this time that Atīśa Dipaṅkara came here. He stayed here for twelve years and received instructions on Buddhism under the guidance of Dharmmakīrti, one of the greatest luminaries of the Buddhist world.[151] At about the same time, to be precise in A.D. 1017, Sanskrit works were sent to China,[152] As the inscriptions of king Ādityavarman testify, Sanskrit was studied at the royal court at least up to the fourteenth century A.D. It is unthinkable that such long cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature would be a barren one, without producing important literary works. Unfortunately no literature from the Indo-Sumatran period has reached our hands, and whatever we have now refers to recent times. Achehnese

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Batak and Minangkabau have no doubt an extensive modern literature, but these are mostly unexplored, excepting a brief study of Achehnese by Hurgronje[153]

The fate of Pre-Islamic Malay literature is also similar to that of Sumatra and Java, with this difference that whereas the Old-Javanese literature was substantially saved on account of its physical removal to the island of Bali, the same could not be done in regard to Sumatran and Malayan literature of the Hindu epoch, which I believe was completely destroyed. The oldest specimen of the old or Proto-Malay language is to be found in the inscription of A.D. 683 from Kedukan Bukit in the island of Sumatra ; the Talang Tuvo inscription dated in the following year was also found in the same island. The earliest Malay work is not however available until more than nine hundred years have elapsed. The earliest works so far available from Malaya seem to indicate that the early literature of the Peninsula might have consisted of dynastic traditions, many of which were oral folk-tales, pontoons, beast-fables, proverbs, poems, riddles, etc. It is difficult to assign any date for them or indicate the source and point out the method of their propagation in the Malay world. Their traditional history is of mythical nature, dealing with the origin of dynasties, which are, however, full of lacunae. Modern critics would naturally find many interesting points therein from the viewpoint of folklore. As is well-known, from historiographic point of view, the best impression is created by the *Sajarah Melayu* or *Salāhaṭ as Salāṭin* from the beginning of the 17th century A.D. It has been observed that many didactic writings, in spite of their Arabic-Persian facade, contain stories of an Indian complexion. The links, which connect many of these stories with India, specially Bengal, relate to magic horses, magic castles, fatal or life-giving magic flower, setting princesses free from the might or spell of inimical princes or demons who are subjugated by princes assisted by supernatural power. Jonker has observed that it is difficult reduce the structure of such stories to one arche-type, fix up the grade of their borrowing and determine the mutual relationship of particular stories.

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In some of the Hikayats, Indian influences are clearly discernible, as for example, in the story called *Hikayat Indranata*, *Hikayat Sjah Mardan*, the *Hikayat Berma Sjahdan*. The Ceriteras and Hikayats also mutually influenced each other. The *Hikayat Kumala Bahrain* which betrays the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is a noteworthy venture. Many of these stories, influenced by folk-elements of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were presented in a Malay setting. The Indian epics are represented in Malaya by the *Hikayat Seri Rama* and the various recensions of the *Hikayat Pandava*. The *Hikayat Seri Rama* is based upon the Rāma-cycle of stories, but it makes wide departure from the Indian original in many important respects. The *Mahāhhārata* has also supplied the matrix for such stories as the *Pandava lima*, *Pandava jaya*, *Angkavijaya*, etc. The wayang stories and lakons, based on the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, with Arjuna, Hanuman and others as heroes, have popularised certain ideals of Indian people among the Malays, but everywhere the emphasis has been on the folk and supernatural element. The Pañji-cycle of stories, whether borrowed directly from Javanese or Malay translations, bear little Indian influence on the structure of the stories, but the adventures of the hero sometimes cover the Indian lands. In some cases, stories can be traced to the Old-Javanese original, as in the case of the Malay recension of *Hikayat Maharaja Boma* which reverts to the Old-Javanese *Bhomakāvya*. There are also adaptations from Indian sources, like the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, perhaps in their Tamil recensions.[154]

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CHAPTER V

MONUMENTS, SCULPTURE AND METAL IMAGES OF INDONESIA

The earliest monuments and relics of statuary art of the Indo-Javanese period are to be found in Central Java. The monumental art of Java had an initial phase, in which wood and other perishable materials were used, as stray Chinese references and modern practices in Bali seem to indicate. Indeed, we read in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-906) : "The people (of Java) make fortifications of wood and even the largest houses are covered with palm leaves".[1] The position is further confirmed by the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty where we read : "The walls of the city are made of palisades ; there is also a large building of two stories covered with the bark of the gomuti palm ; in this the king lives and he sits on a couch of ivory."[2] As late as 1365 A.D., the royal palaces of Java were built almost in this fashion. We read in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (11 : 2) : "All the (royal) houses are not without pillars with various woodcarvings, so they are described, and, to be sure, the bases are stone-brick, red, fitted with raised work, select, ornamented with figures, spread to be sure, are the products of the potters, used as tops of the roofs of those houses, superior." Our experience from Malaya also tells the same tale. It is therefore reasonable to hold that buildings for gods and men before the eighth century were made of perishable materials. Images were also made in the same fashion, because the Dinaja inscription tells us that an image of Agastya made of Devadāru-wood was replaced by black-stone in A.D. 760. Early buildings of perishable materials have therefore disappeared altogether. I suppose, from eighth century onwards when stone and bricks came to be used, the abodes for gods were made of these materials, while those for mortals, being inferior to gods and other celestial beings continued to be made, as in Cambodia,[3] of perishable or semi-perishable

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materials. This architectural and statuary art of Java, followed, broadly speaking, the śilpaśāstras of India, but novel features were not altogether absent. Dutch archaeologists have therefore designated this art as Hindu-Javanese.

The religious buildings of Java, usually described as caṇḍis, have been described in the Old-Javanese charters as prasada, dharmma prasada, parhyangan ; reference has also been made to prasada kabikvan, prasada kabhaktyan, etc. Unfortunately we do not know the exact differences among these different types of religious buildings, but it seems probable that the ancient caṇḍis or temples of Java and Bali had the form, if not the function, of Indian temples, as many of the temples of Java, if not of Bali,[4] are funerary temples of the deified god-king, having the features of a particular god, and hence to be worshipped. The buildings erected to provide shelter to the mortal remains of human beings were also established, to judge by the practice in Bali, in thousands, but those less cared for have entirely disappeared.

The art of Central Java, like that of other places in the Malayo-Indonesian world, was the hand-maid of religion, and it flourished between c. A.D. 700-950. The East-Javanese period of art flourished between A.D. 1200 and 1500. The period between 950 and 1200 is, with a few brilliant exceptions to be described later on, a bleak and uninspiring one.

A standard-type Javanese temple consists of three parts viz. (a) a high and decorated basement (b) a square or rectangular body with a porch or vestibule in front and projections on all other sides, and (c) the roof. The temples in the Dieng plateau have usually roofs of diminishing horizontal stages, each repeating in a small scale the general plan of the temple itself, i.e. a cubic structure with four niches on four sides. In the four corners are to be found four diminutive turrets, which are, as in some places of India, miniature reproductions of the temple. The receding terraces have sometimes been made octagonal, in stead of rectangular, to relieve the monotony of the structures. These diminishing storeys preserve, along with some other features, such as square plan, symmetry and stress on horizontal lines, the

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essential characteristics of Dravidian architecture.[5] The temples are simple in design and small in dimension and these are equally matched by the simplicity and vigour of the sculptures and ornamentations. Ruins of temples are also to be found in the East and South of the Dieng Plateau.

The Indo-Javanese artists could not design big temples or structures, except when these were hewn out of hills. As columns and pillars are wholly lacking and arches were all constructed on horizontal principles, the Indo-Javanese architects could not cover large space by means of big arches and domes. It is difficult to say if this was due to fear of earthquake, but even then they could have introduced a sense of massiveness by the precess of connecting galleries, as was done on a grand scale by the Khmer architects, but this was never done in Java. So the architects of Java sought to make up for this deficiency by developing side chapels out of projecting bays with separate roofs, or by building a large number of subsidiary temples to give a mouumental or colossal character to the whole structure. An early example of this type is provided by the Caṇḍi Sevu group of temples.

The oldest temples of Java belong to the plateau of Dieng called Ḍihyang in ancient inscriptions. In the heart of the plateau stand five temples, enclosed by one common wall and designated Caṇḍi Arjuna, Caṇḍi Srikandi, Caṇḍi Puntadeva, Caṇḍi Sambadra and Caṇḍi Semar. Stray temples on the plateau are known by the name of Caṇḍi Daravati, Caṇḍi Ghaṭotkaca, Caṇḍi Bima, Caṇḍi Parikesit, Caṇḍi Ngakula-Sadevo. The names doubtless indicate the popularity of the Indian epic heroes, but it is difficult to say when these names came to be associated with these temples.

Sculptural representations from Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist pantheon have been found in large numbers from both Central and Eastern Java, but before we deal with specific representations of the same it is perhaps worthwhile to classify them according to their broad general patterns. The sculptural representations have been fonnd as (a) decorative or ornamental designs (b) relief figures and (c) detached images. The decorative ornamen ts represent familiar Indian

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motifs, such as rosette, floral scroll, garland, arabesque, diverse naturalistic designs or geometrical patterns ; generally speaking, there is no trace of local flora or fauna and the complicated foliage motifs have not yet appeared. The relief figures include the so-called Kāla-Makara, human busts in the niches of Caṇḍi Bima, but unfortunately the identity of these busts has not been satisfactorily determined. The busts have been executed with high artistic skill. There is frank naturalism, but the artists have not generally been able to bear upon the images the stamp of ideal divinity, which we find, for example, in the moulding of the divine image found at Bagelen, but which originally belonged to the Dieng plateau. This image, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified, is perhaps the best specimen of sculptural art of the Dieng plateau.

The single shrine buildings of the Dieng Plateau have undergone certain typical changes in the construction of Caṇḍi Kalasan, the earliest Buddhist temple of Java, where false porches developed into chapels, creating a cruciform appearance. This temple lies in the Prambanan Valley and was constructed, according to an inscription, in A.D. 778, under order of a Śailendra king. It was dedicated to Tārā, but the deity, a Buddhist goddess, has disappeared. The temple has same decorated niches, most of which contain images of Dhyānī Buddhas. The most impressive decoration on the exterior of the temple is a colossal Kāla-head above the chapel-door, with a Makara on either side of the doorway.[6] A little to the north of Kalasan lies Caṇḍi Sari or Caṇḍi Bendah.[7] Its vestibule has disappeared, but we have over the gateway the usual Kāla-Makara motif, the Makara resting on kneeling elephants and with birds in their open jaws. The decorations are rich and the empty niches probably contained images of Dhyānī Buddhas. Other Buddhist temples of the valley include seventeen temples of the Caṇḍi Lumbung-complex,[8] besides Caṇḍi Sevu which is the biggest Buddhist sanctuary after Barabudur.[9] The Caṇḍi Sevu complex contains 250 temples, of which the main temple occupied the central position. A noteworthy feature, apart

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from its tendency towards a cruciform plan, with fully developed side-chapels, is the circumbulatory passage on the terrace around the main tower which passes, as in the Pāhārpur temple of Bengal, through the side-chapel walls. It was probably constructed in the ninth century A.D. About 1630 yards to the North East of Caṇḍi Sevu lies the complex of Caṇḍi Plaosan, which contains some Bodhisattva and Dhyānī Buddha images of exquisite workmanship.[10] The bas-relief sculptures on the outer walls of the vestibule and figure reliefs on the panels of the inner walls are also fine specimens of art. The Caṇḍi Sajivan which lies obout a mile to the South-East of Prambanan has decorated panels representing beast-fables from the *Pañcatantra*, *Jātakas* and the *Tantrī*-texts, as also the familiar Kāla Mākara motif.

The most outstanding creation of Indo-Javanese art is, however, the stūpa of Barabudur lying in the Kedu Plain.[12] In design, execution, massiveness and grandeur, it is a phenomenon and can only be compared with Angkor Vat of Cambodia. The Barabudur is a Buddhist saga in stone. The date of this stupendous structure has been placed between c. A.D. 750 and 850. According to the latest investigation, it is supposed to have been founded during the reign of king Samarottuṅga (c. 782-812 A.D.) ; if this be so, it would be highly creditable that such a huge integrated structure, with a complex design, could have been finished out of primitive rock in course of thirty years, specially as no major haste is discernible in the execution of the plan. The stūpa consists of nine successive receding terraces, one superimposed on the other, with a bell-shaped stūpa at the centre of the topmost terrace. The devotee gradually ascends here, both in a physical and spritual sense; from the lowest to the highest, and faces the Holy of Holies at the top, in the Grand Voidness of the Vajrayāna philosophy. It is however difficult to say if it was empty originally, as an unfinished figure was found there in 1842. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that artistic considerations, if not religious, might have necessitated the installation of an image there, as in other places of the structure. Przyluski has proposed[13] that a gold statue

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crowned the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. He was king of Mounts (Śailendra)=Devarāja=Bhaṭṭāra Buddha and Śiva-Buddha. I think that the Buddha of the terminal stūpa of Barabudur might have been referred to in the opening stanza of the Karang tengah inscription[14] where reference has been made to "the hero of immeasurable might seated in the great Vajrāsana on the lofty hill". The lofty hill may be the Barabudur hill and the great Vajrāsana the terminal stūpa. If this view be correct, it would indeed prove that the construction of the Barabudur stūpa was completed by A.D. 824. There are eleven series of sculptured panels in the galleries and their total number would be about 1500. As pointed out by Coomaraswamy,[15] the rich and gracious forms of these reliefs, if placed end to end, would extend for over five kilometres.

The sculptures in the different galleries have been designed to illustrate Buddhist texts on the subject and many of them have been identified. The stories so far identified refer to the *Karmavibhaṅga*, perhaps the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātakamālā*, the *Avadānaśataka* or *Divyāvadāna*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* or the *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhānasūtra*, though there are some local variations in the rendering of some scenes. The art represented in the execution of decorative motifs, narrative reliefs and detached images is of the highest order and many of them remind one of the finesse of the Gupta sculptures. Among the favourite dacorative motifs are the semi-circular or hanging garlands, floral spirals, floral scroll with birds and beasts and conventional vases with flowers. The completed foliage motifs may owe their origin to North India. The Kāla-Makara motif is now more splendidly developed and represented oftener than in the Dieng temples. The detached images of Buddha represent the elegance and sublime expression of corresponding Gupta figures. The symmetry, rhythm and non-monotonous delineation of the narrative reliefs is also a refreshing phenomenon at Barabudur, as the natural scenes have been realistically executed. Unspeakable grace and charm have been lavishly distributed in the narrative reliefs. It has also to be observed that here,

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as at Prambanan, the sculptural decoration has always been kept in rigid subordination to architectural proportions of the buildings,—a phenomenon sadly wanting in the East-Javanese architecture.

Of other important Buddhist temples of the Kedu plain, reference may be made to Caṇḍi Mendut[16] and Caṇḍi Pawon,[17] which were contemporaneous with or constructed shortly after Barabudur. The fine images of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara in Caṇḍi Mendut are remarkable specimens of the Indo-Javanese art of Central Java. Other monuments of Central Java, of Hindu and Buddhist denominations, include the temples of Selagriya, Caṇḍi Setan, Caṇḍi Asu, Caṇḍi Merak, Caṇḍi Reja and some cave-temples. The temples of Selagriya, Reja, Setan, Asu, Merak, etc., were dedicated to Brāhmaṇical deities. Wales believes that there is a very definite Pāla-influences in contemporary central Javanese temples, as well as in the Malayan and later Sumatran ones".[18]

The architecture of the Hinduistic temples of Java reached its high watermark with the composition of the Lara-Jonggrang group of temples in the Prambanan valley lying to the South of Dieng.[19] It has probably to be referred to the second half of the ninth century A.D., though some believe it to have been constructed in the tenth century. It marks a Śaivite revival after the disappearance of the Śailendras from Central Java. It is believed by some scholars to have been built as a burial place of king Balitung (c. A.D. 915). The group consists of eight main temples, enclosed within a common wall, with three rows of minor temples around the wall on each side. A second, perhaps a third, enclosure surrounded the whole temple-complex, which consisted of 156 temples. The rows of temples created almost a Tantrik circle. This temple-complex is, after Barabudur, the greatest creation of Indo-Javanese art. The biggest temple of the group is the central one standing in the western row of the inner enclosure and it contains an image of Śiva, but the bearing is somewhat stiff. The temple lying to the North has an image of Viṣṇu and that lying to the South has an image of Brahmā. Of the three temples on the

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opposite side, one contains an image of Nandī. The temple of Śiva has a superb Kāla-Makara motif, with lotus-plants coming out of the mouth of the Kāla. The figures in the niches and in the panels respectively represent, it seems, divine beings and celestial nymphs or gandharvas. The decorations and figures on the balustrades are among the best products of Indo-Javanese art. In style of architecture, it differs very little from the Buddhist temples of Plaosan and Sajivan. Besides the Lara-Jonggrang group, the valley has also other architectural remains in bad state of preservation. The group of eleven temples on the Gunung Ijo is not, to judge by the extant remains, impressive. The main shrine of this group contained a Śivaliṅga. It seems that the whole group constituted a Śaivite complex of the ninth century A. D.

The sculptures pertaining to the temples of the Lara-Jonggrang complex reveal a high aesthetic sense. The superb Kāla-Makara motif, the lotus vases with spiral leaves, the Kinnara-motif, the figures and representations on the balustrade of the main temple, represent the best traditions of the Indo-Javanese art. The inner side of the balustrade depicts in relief the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the beginning up to the expedition to Laṅkā. The story was presumably continued on the balustrade of the neighbouring temple dedicated to Brahmā. In style the reliefs of Prambanan are more dynamic and more full of life than those of Barabudur. The whole temple-complex betrays a unity in design and decorations, matched by a high standard in execution, which marks it off from other productions of the Indo-Javanese art. The art of Lara Jonggrang is naturalistic, human and dynamic. It also represents the syncretic character of Javanese religion, because while the temple is devoted to Śiva, the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs magnify the glory of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu who has been assigned a smaller temple there.

We shall now turn our attention to the art and architecture of East Java. Broadly speaking, these represent a continuation of the art traditions of Central Java, but it underwent certain ramifications due to normal development, in which the indigenous element gradually asserted itself. The temples of

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Badut, Besuki and Gunung Gagsir in East Java, one affiliated, in a general sense, to the period and traditions of the central Javanese art. All of them were dedicated to Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses. The earliest dated monument of East Java is the tomb and bathing enclosure called Jalatuṇḍa. Opposite to them lie a second tomb and bathing enclosure at Belahan which has yielded one of the finest images of Indonesia, viz. the figure of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.[20] The figure of Viṣṇu is generally believed to be the deified portrait of king Airlangga. Both the sites are located on Mt. Penanggungan,[21] but the former one is dated in A. D. 977. From the death of Airlangga in A.D. 1049 to the end of the Kaḍiri kingdom in A.D. 1222, a barren period in the history of Indo-Javanese art sets in, till we come to the Singhasari period (A.D. 1222-1292). Among the earliest temples of the Singhasari period, we may reckon the Śaivite temple of Kidal which was the burial sanctuary of king Anūṣanātha who died in A.D. 1248. A fine image of Śiva, believed to be a portrait of the king, which conforms to the earlier Indo-Javanese style, has been houses in the Colonial Museum at Amsterdam.[22] Krom has pointed out[23] that, stylistically, the temple of Kidal is affiliated to the canons of Central Javanese art. There is a restraint in its ornamentation, which, though East-Javanese in idiom, bears the imprint of the classical style of central Java. In other respects, it also reveals certain features which became prominent in later architectural forms, such as the heightening of the basement, certain amount of diminution in the body of the building, pyramidal simplification of the roof structure, etc., which indicates the transition to Majapahitan style of architecture.[24] Caṇḍi Sighasari and Caṇḍi Jago,[25] two other buildings of the Singhasari period, reveal certain interesting features. The superstructure of the latter is very damaged. The porches, almost lost at Kidal, reappear to give the temple of Singhasari" a cruciform plan so characteristic of Pāla-art in more developed form", white characteristically Indian foliage designs also reappear on the doorjambs of Jago.[26] Indian Makaras however survive, but as traces in medallions by the side of the doors. Caṇḍi

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Singasari is mainly to be considered as a Śaivite temple, with the image of Bhaṭāra Guru in situ but rather damaged, while other statues of the pantheon, such as Mahākāla, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Mandīśvara have changed their places for the Leinden Museum. These and the Buddhist statues found here are of excellent workmanship. Bernet Kempers has observed in regard to East-Javanese art ;[27] We find several Pāla features in the dress and in the composition ; we refer to the loops and ribbons by the ears, the shawl of the Bhṛkuṭi image from Caṇḍi Jago, the attendants, the bodice of the Durgā-image from Caṇḍi Singhasari, standing with legs apart, etc.....The Pāla-features are found in their purest form in the art of Jago, but exclusively in the images and not in the relievos". The Proto-Bengali script, so far described as Nāgarī, has been used, in stead of South-Indian or Old-Javanese script, on some of the Jago-images, and this phenomenon serves to link up these images with the art-traditions of Pāla-Bengal.[28] In the Caṇḍi Jago, we also find depicted stories from the *Pārthayajña*, *Arjunavivāha*, *Kālayavanāntaka*, etc., and this phenomenon constitutes the first major contribution of the Indo-Javanese arists in this respect since the days of Barabudur-Prambanan. The principal image of this temple was a statue of Amoghapāśa which represented the features of king Viṣṇuvardhana who was cremated here after A.D. 1268. We have, besides, all the Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis represented here, thus emphasising the Tantrik character of Javanese Buddhism of the late thirteenth century.

The best representative of Singhasari art is the image of Prajñāpāramitā, 1.26 M. high with a pedestal and a lotus-cushion ; this is believed to be a portrait of Deḍes, Rājasa's consort and the first queen of Singhasari.[29] Another beautiful specimen of portrait sculpture in the Hari-Hara image of Simping which is believed to represent the features of king Kṛtarājasa.[30] It is matched by an equally beautiful image of Pārvatī in Caṇḍi Rimbi. It resembles the Hari-Hara image so completely that Krom believed it to be the image of the principal queen of Kṛtarājasa.[31]

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The art-traditions of the Singasari period imperceptibly blended into those of the Majapahit period. The most representative temples of this time are the Caṇḍis of Javi, Papoh, Jabung, Suravana, Kedatan, Pari, etc. The Caṇḍi Suravana which reveals Śaivite characteristics has sculptured panels illustrating the story of the *Arjunavivāha*. The most famous monument of East-Java is, however the temple-complex of Panataraṅ. It was perhaps built on the site of an earlier Śaiva-temple called Palah,[32] and an inscribed stone of it dates from A.D. 1197. Restoration and expansion-work on the site took place in the thirteenth century, but the main structure was perhaps built in the early years of the fourteenth century,[33] though its continued use is attested by a bathing tank dated A.D. 1415 and a building from A.D. 1454.[34] The structures are not however systematically arranged, as at Lara Jonggrang and Caṇḍi Sevu. The temple was dedicated to Śiva, but loose images of Brahmā, Śrī, etc., have also been found. The main structure has a triple terraced basement. On the terraces have been depicted stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* in flat low relief,[35] but every vacant space has been utilised by unnatural wayang-like figures. The Bubuksu-legend has also been depicted on another sanctuary of the locality.[36] The flames, which have sometimes been described as cloud-scenes,[37] seem to be symbolic, as they destroyed the happiness of the royal family of Ayodhyā, and culminated in the Laṅkākāṇḍa, where the flames of war and passion virtually wiped away the major part of the warriors of the valley of Death i. e. Laṅkā.

Side by side with the highly stylised bas-reliefs of the Majapahit period, we also find naturalistic sculpture of non-religious type, such as an old woman bearing a plate on the head,[38] images of a graceful smiling couple which served as water-spouts,[39] from Majakerta, the realistic head of a woman,[40] a Javanese Madonna,[41] a bit stiff perhaps but very natural. Of these images, the figures of the two unconventional images of water-spouts are the best, perhaps the creation of a genius.

Architecture of the Post-Majapahitan period is not impressive. Representative works of this period include the

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hill-terraces of Sukuh on the western said of Mt. Labu and Ceta on its top.[42] At Sukuh and its neighbourhood were found Yoni, Liṅga, Śiva, Durgā, Garuḍa, Tortoise (an incarnation of Viṣṇu), etc. The reliefs depicted here the story of the *Sudamala*.[43] The terraced constructions at Penampihan on the eastern side of Mt. Vilis contain images of Gaṇeśa and Kurma or Tortoise, obviously representing an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[44] It appears, as if, Hinduism flourishing so long in the plains, penetrated into the hilly tracts of Java and brought about a synthesis between Hindu and megalithic cultures in some remote areas of eastern Java.[45]

When we take a general view of the Indo-Javanese architecture of East Java, the first thing that attracts the attention of the art critic is that it has lost the sense of fine balance between construction and decoration which were used to magnificent effect in Central Java. A mad pursuit for the meaningless splendour of ornamentation has vitiated the whole aesthetic climate, which has often been disturbed by the introduction of clowns and other apparitions of Malayo-Polynesian fik-lore, not to speak of curious mixture of Hindi and Buddhist stories, religious or otherwise, in the bas-reliefs. In that respect, it however reflects the religious syncretism of the time, though the wayang or puppet-show figures bear no relation to classical Indian forms. From the viewpoint of Indian cultural heritage, the form is a decadent one. Another notable innovation is the emergence of the Nāga-motif in the place of the Makara.

We may now turn our attention to the neighbouring island of Bali which can neither boast of a Barabudur nor a Prambanan, and the architectural remains from the early period are rather unimpressive. The earliest representatives of Balinese architecture are the rock-cut monasteries or temples and clay-stūpas dating from the tenth-eleventh century. The rock-cut monastery called Goa Gaja (=Guhā Gajaḥ i.e. cave-elephant) contains, in the inner chamber, some niches with Gaṇeśa-image and some liṅgas. There are also some structural tomb-temples in Bali, but these are limited to about a dozen sites, and circumscribed in point of time and areas of

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Javanesc influence. Go is thought that this type of Caṇḍi was foreign to Balinese religious conceptions. The rock Caṇḍis of Gunung Kavi, near Tumpang Siring have been set up over the burial ground of members of royal family, including Airlangga's brother and his queens who were buried an A.D. 1080. Here a series of towers have been constructed over successive stages of the high conical shaped roof. There are also other rock-hewn manasteries of about the same period. The architectural remains of the 13th-14th centuries reveal some new features, mainly in regard to basement, cornice ornamentation and the composition of the roof, but no impressive structure from this period can now be found. The modern temples of Bali are not also of big size either, but their number is considerable. It is reported that in the earthquake of 1917, 2431 Balinese temples were destroyed. A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious affairs on Bali reports the number of large and important temples to be 4661. The chief temple in Bali is Pura Besaki,[46] on the south-western slope of Gunung Agung, the highest mountain of the island. Swellengrebel thinks that certain features of the temple e. g. style and rituals recall its prehistoric association, though in the tenth century it might have been a Buddhist sanctuary. The Hindu Trinity is now associated with this temple. The Besuki temple, as we have it now, is therefore a complex phenomenon. There are other temples of smaller dimensions meant for the family, the clan, the realm, etc. The household temple set up in the sacred south-eastern corner of the compound of an ordinary Balinese, is called Sanggah and that for the nobility is called pemerajan. He has also a family origin temple called pura kavitan or kemimitan, while the clan temple is called pura dadia. There are also other types of temples, but with the Hinduization of Bali and under the inspiration of the royal courts, a high degree of architectural unity in the temple-type developed in Bali. The large temples contain many structures, such as altars, chapels, offering pavilions, meeting hall, music pavilions, offering kitchen, supply halls (rice sheds and the like), guest houses, etc. The bales or offering pavilions have often stone-foundations. of which the

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wooden posts ond rafters are decorated, while the walls depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The pura bale agung, from the nature of the case, commanded an extensive site to hold village-meetings or serve as prayer-hall for ceremonies on new and full moon days. In the larger temples, all the stone surfaces were ornamented, and whenever possible gold and silver images, in other cases, wood and stone images were installed in the chapels, while the walls and stairs were adorned with stone statues. The temple-zone is divided into three courtyards, separated from one another by low gates, which could be fixed at any suitable point of the individual walls. The forecourt is called the jaba, the central court is called the jaba tengal and the inner court the jeroan. There are at present two types of temple gates, viz. the roofed padurakṣa and the split, unroofed caṇḍi bentar. Inside the inner court are located the chapels and altars for the divinities and the sheds where the offerings are prepared and arranged. The largest structures of the inner court are the multiple-roofed merus, of which the number of roofs must always be uneven. The merus are meant not only for the gods of the Hindu Trinity, but also for many mountain gods.

As regards sculpture, the earliest reference seems to occur in the Chinese annals. The *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A. D 502-556) says of Po-li :[47] "They have a kind of stone called kampara which is soft when first taken and may be cut into figures and dried, after which it becomes very hard". If this kampara be the same as volcanic tuff used by Indo-Balinese craftsmen as their medium for the making of images, this, being of friable nature, has not been able to withstand the ravages of time. The earliest specimens are provided by Buddhist figures in the clay-tablets of the 8th-9th centuries betraying strong Indian influences of the late Gupta period. Due to political influence of the Mataram-kings, Indo-Javanese art traditions of Central Java made their impact on Balinese art from the eighth to the tenth century A.D. A very remarkable specimen from this period is the beautiful Bedulu image of Śiva. There was deepening of Javanese influence in the Indo-Balonese art between the tenth and thlrteenth century, but

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the productions of this art could not match the gracefulness of the Indo-Javanese art of Central Java or of the Nalanda school. This is particularly true of deified kings and queens, whose images, with pronounced Indonesian features, became heavy and stiff. The twin image of a king and a queen dated A. D. 1011 may be cited in this connexion.[18] In some cases at least, the reason for this stiffness and immobility may be found in, the cult of the dead whose spirit resides in such images. It may, however, be observed that similar statues in Java, e. g. those of Airlangga or queen Dedes are quite graceful. This stiffness and immobility is not, however, the norm of Indo-Balinese sculpture of this period. Among other types of images, there are some beautiful ones, e. g. a spout in the form of a female figure which seems to be affiliated to Indian art. In some miniature caṇḍis of Bali, we come across, at the external niches on the four sides, images of Durgāmahiṣāsuramardinī, Gaṇeśa, Ṛṣi, etc. Large number of liṅgas, mahāliṅga, aṣṭamukhaliṅga, yonis, etc. catuḥkāya image of Trimūrti, Nṛsiṃha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu have also been found. Some of the images just mentioned reveal the pronounced character of the indigenous element in the contemporary Balinese art. The late period of Indo-Balinese art from the 13th-14th centuries includes, among others, sculptures from Pejeng combining four figures in one form with emblems of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the sacred vessel depicting the Milk-Sea, possibly eating from A.D. 1329, which betray a deterioration in the standard of the Indo-Balinese art of this epoch. The sculpture of this period is marked by an elaborate undulating ornamentation which is often accompanied by baroque demoniacal figures. The series of sculptured reliefs at Jeh pulu perhaps constitute the best products from the last period of Indo-Balinese art. The luxuriousness of ornamentation, even verging on the exuberant and grotesque, sometimes characterises this late phase of Indo-Balinese art. This gradually led to the evolution of the baroque-style and modern Balinese art.

Architectural remains are rather poor in Sumatra, but sculptural remains, though not impressive in number, contain

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some of the best specimens of Indo-Sumatran art. In architectural matters, a highly noticeable phenomenon is the use of brick for building purposes and the prominent place assigned to stūpas. In these respects the Indo-Sumatran art deviated from the norm of Indo-Javanese architecture.

Specimens of Sumatran Stūpa, modelled on Indian style, are comparatively late and confined to northern Sumatra in such places as Muara Takus (eleventh-twelvth century) and Padang Lavas (twelvth-fourteenth century). The Malagai-stūpa[49] of Muara Takus has been compared by Stutterheim[50] with Pāla-style stūpa of Giryek.[51] The reliefs and the sculptural decorations of these stūpas betray Indian influences in various degrees. Indeed, the dancing figures at Padang Lavas recall some of the best traditions of Indian art.[52] Two Śaivite temples, now found in ruins, have also been found not far off from Palembang and may perhaps be dated in the ninth or tenth century A.D.

Beautiful representations of sculptural art are also present in Sumatra. The granite Buddha statue found on the Seguntang Hill, which may belong to the earliest phase of Śrīvijayan art, has been influenced, according to some, by the art-traditions of the Amarāvatī school, according to others, by the Mathurā-school. Since granite is not found in Sumatra, it has been supposed to have been imported either from the neighbouring island of Bangka or from India.[53] There is however no proof for the prevalence of Buddhism is either Sumatra or Bangka in the second-third century A.D., when the Amarāvatī-style flourished in India. Among other images, the stone-image of Avalokiteśvara from the Palembang Division and the bronze images of Avalokiteśvara, Buddha and Maitreya found in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the rivers Komering and Musi in 1929, represent, according to Bosch, affiliation to the Śailendra art of Java and, to some others, direct influences from India.[54] Two Buddha statues from Jambi, probably dating from the seventh century A.D. seem also to be affiliated to Gupta art-traditions.[55] The Bangka-head of Viṣṇu, dating probably from the seventh century A.D., seems also to be affiliated to Gupta style.[56] These are really remarkable

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specimens of Indo-Sumatran art. The Palembang Bodhisattvas, in their design and conception, and in certain other details, such as jaṭāmukuṭa, the full squarish face, the necklace and uttarīya (shawl) and the swelling sensuous body fashioned with delicate touches remind one of the Pāla-art of Bengal,[57] though some of its special features, such as loops or ribbons behind the ears, bodice of female deities, Pala-form of nimbus, pedestal with foot, etc., could not make headway against the earlier Pallava or Gupta usage which had stuck to the divine images of Indonesia for a considerable time. The Tapanuli region also contains some architectural and sculptural relics from the 13th century A.D. The Buddhist images in Biara (Bihara) Bahal I and II, Padang Lavas, Tapanuli, have been made in Pāla-style, though a bronze female figure, measuring 19·5 c.m. in height, within the enclosure of Biara Bahal I undoubtedly recall the South-Indian style.[58] An image of dancing Heruka[59] from the main temple of Biaro Bahal II indicates the prevalence of Kālacakra Buddhism in this region in the 13th century A.D. Another noteworthy Buddhist image is that of a four-armed standing image of Lokanātha between two seated Tārās (one of which has disappeared), found at Gunung Tua in Tapanuli. This image was made by the sculptor Sūrya in A.D. 1024, as an inscription on the pedestal tells us.[60] Later Buddhist images have also been found in Sumatra, and of them an important one refers to an Amoghapāśa group brought from Java in A.D. 1286 under orders from king Kṛtanagara, and this event is reported to have delighted all the people of Malayu and its king Tribhuvanarāja Maulivarman, as an inscription on it tells us. An inscription on the back of the Amoghapāśa-image dated A.D. 1347 enlightens us that it was removed to Rambhan, where it stands now, and was reconsecrated under orders of king Ādityavarman. The statue is 1.63 M. high and is a product of the Singhasari-school.[61] On the left of the principal image stand Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭi, on his right Sudhanakumāra and Śyāmātārā. Eight images of Buddhas and Tārās sit on lotus-cushions. The figures are believed to be the portraits of the Javanese king Viṣṇuvardhana

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and his family. A Bhairava-image was also found in 1906 from a tract lying to the west of Sungai Langsat . The image stands on a prostrate figure, whose legs are doubled up under the body. These two figures have been set upon a slab, a double lotus cushion (padmapīṭha), supported on a pedestal of eight skulls. The Bhairava-image has knife and skull in his hands, snakes on wrists and ankles. There are other horrible decorations as well. In the tall coiffure sits the Buddha Akṣobhya. The statue is 4.41 M. high. Although some believe the image to belong to the school of Singhasari art, the image may be later and it may even be the portrait of king Ādityavarman who himself became a Bhairava under the name Kṣetrajña Viśeṣadharanī in A.D. 1375.

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CHAPTER VI

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURAL ART OF MALAYSIA

Specimens of architecture from the Malay Peninsula prior to its conquest by the Siamese are very few. The earliest traces of an Indianized society in the Malay Peninsula may be dated in the second century A.D. Archaeological evidence seems also to confirm that some such settlement existed in the second-third century A.D. That we have nothing from an earlier period seems to be due to the fact that the earliest structures were made of perishable materials. Indeed, regarding the early architecture of Ko-lo, a State in the Malay Peninsula, we read in the *Hsin T'ang lshu.* Chap. 222-c : "The city-walls are of piled stone; the towers, the palace and the houses are thatched with straw."[1] The condition prevalent in another part of Malaysia was not different. Regarding Pu-ni or the West coast of Borneo, we learn that the house in which the king lived was covered with palm-leaves and the cottages of the people were covered with grass.[2] This was the usual condition in ancient Malaysia and Indonesia. It is not therefore surprising that the earliest vestiges of architecture in these places have entirely disappeared. In Malaya, the ravages of climate, insects, erosive power of equatorial rainfall, nature of materials used and rapid deposition of alluvium have been listed as mainly responsible for the non-existence of buildings from such an early period. If the roof of a miniature bronze shrine discovered from the valley of the Bujang Merbok river valley be a replica of early Malayan architecture and if the paucity of laterite blocks and tiles at the foundations of ruined sites be any index, it would appear that the superstructure of temples was built of perishable materials. While the early colonists on the estuary of the Bujang used rounded boulders from the region of the upper course for their structures, those on the banks of the Merbok and its tributaries used laterite blocks in stead of rounded bouldere from the Upper Bujang.

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Houses of the common people seem to have been made of atap, bamboo or wood.

At P'ong-Tuk, where the Meklong river enters the delta of Lower Siam, Coedès unearthed a settlement yielding Buddhist remains from the second to the sixth century A.D., while the remains found from P'ra Pathom further down the valley may be dated in the 5th or 6th century A.D.[3] Some scholars believe that Ptolemy's mart of Takkola lying in latitude 160°30′ E and 4°15′ N is no other than the port of Takua Pa.[4] Whether the identification be accepted or not, it is evident from the explorations of Wales that there was an Indian settlement on an island off the mouth of the Takua Pa river. Ruins of shrines exist in the region about Takua Pa.[5] The small shrine at Phra No Hill houses a magnificent four-armed image of Viṣṇu probably dating from the sixth or seventh century A.D.,[6] while vestiges of another small shrine at Khau Phra Narai on the western coast of the Peninsula also testify to some architectural activities in the region. About 12 miles off from Takua Pa estuary there was another Indianized locality, as the discovery of three images of Hindu divinities would indicate. Archaeological discoveries in the region from the third to the eighth century indicate that Takua Pa was a flourishing port during this period.[7] It is not clear if its decline can be linked up with the decline of the port of Tāmralipti. From Takua Pa a route lay across a low hill feature to Tāmbraliṅga in the Caiya (Jaya) district on the Bay of Bandon on the opposite coast. There are traces of Indian penetration along this route.[8] A Tamil inscription from the 9th century A.D. found with three Brāhmaṇic images from the Takua Pa valley, as referred to above, attests the presence at Takua Pa of a good number of Tamils, including merchants and soldiers who supported religious and secular institutions of the locality.[9] Just like the Takua Pa river in the North, the Trang river provided another route across the Isthmus terminating at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat on the eastern coast. The small settlement at Vieng Sra lay by the side of a tributary of the Luang river at a point lying almost midway between Takua Pa and

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Nakhon Sri Dhammarat. Further South, on the West coast, lay other settlements in Kedah and the Province Wellesley, while further down lay Kuala Selingsing in the Matand district of Perak. These places were also largely Hinduized, as Hindu and Buddhist relics would testify.

In Kedah and Province Wellesley in the western coast, Col. Low had discovered more than a century ago "undoubted relics of a Hindu colony with ruins of temples .....mutilated images,"[10] etc. and several Sanskrit inscriptions dating from the fourth or fifth century A.D.[11] A record of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā[12] tells us that he donated a votive tablet to his Buddhist iṣṭadevatā, apparently on the successful completion of his journey. Wales excavated over thirty sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley, including 17 sanctuaries, 3 buildings, provisionally identified as palace-halls for king's audience and 2 forts, together with other unidentified buildings.[12a] The earliest one seems to be a fourth-century stūpa-basement on the summit of the Bukit Choras Hill on the left bank of the Sungei Sala Besar. This seems to signify the existence at one time of a Buddhist settlement in the neighbourhood. Vestiges of Buddhist temples have also been found in the Northern part of Province Wellesley, with Sanskrit inscriptions from the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The explorations of Wales have revealed basements of two stūpas in the heart of the Bujang valley. These have been referred to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaivite shrines from the neighbourhood and referred them to c. A.D. 550-750. The foundations of some of the Śaivite temples of Kedah seem to have been built by Pallava immigrants,[13] but, in the West coast, no surviving buildings of purely Pallava architecture, corresponding to the Pallava-sculptures, have hitherto been found, though Wales thought that he had found near to one of the Śiva-temples a miniature shrine roof closely resembling the roof of a Pallava-ratha.[14] A seventh or early eighth-century temple excavated on a low-spur of the Kedah-Peak is believed to demonstrate a transitional form between the South-Indian sepulchral shrines and the Caṇḍis of Java.[15] Wales has

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shown that Śaiva temples of decadent Pallava-style have also survived from the 11th-12th centuries. Two Mahāyānist temples were also constructed between c. A. D. 750 and 900 on the same stretch of the river, but these dates have been assailed by others.[16]

On the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, vestiges of earlier buildings and Hinduized settlements are found in the region about the Bay of Bandon. The transpeninsular route from Takua Pa to Tāmbraliṅga-Caiya and by the Trang river to Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and other places less well-known facilitated Indian settlements in the eastern coast, specially in Vieng Sra, Caiya and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat. Wales considers Vieng Sra or "The City of the Lake" to be the eare liest Indian settlement on the East coast and capital of th- State called P'an-P'an in the Chinese annals.[17] He excavated here bas-relief of a temple in which the image of Buddha was fashioned in "purely Indian style of the Gupta period.[18] While the inscriptions of Ligor and the pillar-inscription of Caiya may be dated in the fourth or fifty century A.D. the building activities in this region, as archaeological evidence tends to show, have to be dated somewhat later. In Caiya, the remains of brick buildings lie scattered all over the city, including "the brick bases of vanished assembly halls and little brick shrines, the latter looking very much like miniature Pallava sanctuary towers, but modified as Buddhist relinquaries and often crowned with lotus capitals".[19] Regarding Nukhon Sri Dhammarat, Lajonquiere observes[20] that the most important colonies in Malaya was located here. It was mainly a Buddhist colony which probably built the great stūpa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surround it. Wales has observed[21] : "The archaeological evidence shows the survival around Bay of Bandon of a primitive non-specialised type of colonial architecture at Caiya and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat ; this is supported by the existence in the same latitude of the remains of almost purely Indian edifices from which it could have evolved." Of such temples, the most important ones are the brick temples of Vat Phra That and Vat Keo at Caiya.[22] The general plan

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of the temples recalls a type of construction carved on the bas-reliefs of Barabudur.[23] The central structure is a stūpa of the Phra Cheidi style of Siam with a covered gallery on all sides, but a small building in the courtyard betrays certain features of the temples of Caṇḍi Kalasan, Dong Doung and Mison in Campa.[24] The roof consists of three gradually receding terraces, which reproduce, in miniature, the main temple and the corner stūpas. It represents, with its 171 seated Buddha statues in the courtyard, the most impressive structure in the Peninsula. The other important brick sanctuary of Caiya is the Vat Keo, which also combines the plan of Caṇḍi Kalasan of Central Java with architectural peculiarities of the cubic art of Campā and the Pre-Khmer archaic type of Prasat Kraham of Phnom Kulen (Cambodia).[25] As Wales has observed, it appears to be one of the non-specialised types of early Indian architecture.[26] According to Wales, both the Vat Keu and the Vat Phra That temples were "constructed by the Pallava colonists of Grahi of the seventh or early part of the eighth century as Hiudu shrines and were then converted to Buddhist use."[27] Of the few Brāhmaṇical temples of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, the Ho Phra Isuon reveals an Indo-Javanese style in a strange setting. All the present Vats of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat have a Siamese appearance, but a miniature shrine of the Śailendra period and some images and ruined Brāhmaṇical temples of the Pre-Śailendra period are not altogether absent from this place.[28] Wales has observed that the little colony of the Brāhmaṇas have preserved in their little temples the memory of an early Indian colonial type of architecture.[29] The Vat Kampheng Leng temple-complex at Pechaburi in the extreme North of the Peninsula, built in Cambodian style, was originally dedicated to Brāhmaṇical deities, but it also contains images of Buddha.[30]

In the West coast of the Malay Peninsula some Brāhmaṇical images have been found. On the top of a hill lying in a small island off Takua Pa, there have been found the remains of a "small brick shrine which had housed a four-armed stone image of Viṣṇu, well over natural height and coited with

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a cylindrical metre." The image, rather stylised, belonged to the Gupta school and may be dated in the sixth or seventh century A.D.[31] Further South was discovered the well-known cornelian seal of Viṣṇuvarman, found fron Kuala Selingsing in the Matang district of Perak ; it bears in incorrect Sanskrit the legend *śrī viṣṇuvarmasya* in what has been described as Pallava-Grantha character of the fifth or sixth century A.D. The seal seems to depict the image of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa, though this is not so obvious.[32] The Caiya image of Viṣṇu has been modelled on the Gupta style, and shows remarkable affinity, specially as regards head dress and huge ear-pendants, with the Kārtikeya of Bhumara.[33] Other Viṣṇu-images have been found from the Srivisay Hill between Bandon and Surat and from Vieng Sra. According to Wales the Vieng Sra image seems to be a lifeless copy of a Pallava model. Dupont has also observed that in spite of characterization of cylindrical metre and ankle-length robe, the less well-modelled Viṣṇus found at Surat and Vieng Sra are later local imitations.[34]

Śaiva-images are also quite well-known. I have already invited attention to the fact that about 12 miles off from the estuary of the Takua Pa river were found three Śaivite images of the Gaṅgādhara group[35]; these were entwined by twin stems of a great forest tree. The figures betray some affinity with corresponding South-Indian images of the seventh or eighth century A.D. Further South, at Sungai Batu in Kedah, has been discovered a statue of the goddess Durgā and the head of Śiva's Bull which, according to Wales, date from Pallava-times.[36] Some images of Gaṇeśa and Naṭarāja Śiva have also been found, but the places of their origin are at present unknown. The terra cotta Gaṇeśa image found in one of the later Śaiva temples of Kedah "is seated in the attitude of royal ease" in sharp contrast with the Indo-Javanese Gaṇeśas.[37]

The earliest specimens of sculpture belong to the Amarāvatī-school (2nd to 4th century A.D.), of which some specimens hav been found in the archaeological sites of Sumatra,[38] E. Java,[39] Celebes,[40] Annam,[41] Thailand[42] etc. Such figures showing influence of the Amarāvatī school are

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however few and far between. The earliest known Buddha statuette from Malaya, measuring 8½ inches in height was found from Kedah by Mrs. Q. Wales.[43] It is believed to date from the 5th or 6th century A.D., but seems to bear the influence of the Amarāvatī-school of arts, as the folds of its garment and low uṣṇīṣa seem to testify. Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style have also been found from Vieng Sra,[44] Kedah,[45] Perak[46] and Caiya.[47] Buddhist bronzes of pure Gupta style have been found from the Perak Valley and are good specimens of art.[48] A standing Buddha 18 inches high was dredged up at Pengkalan near Ipoh in 1931. The image is in pure Gupta style dating from the 5th or 6th century A.D. The Tanjong Rambutan bronze image of a standing Buddha may also be affiliated to the same school, but the fine eight-armed bronze Avalokiteśvara, 31 inches high, dredged up from a mine at Bidar in 1936, now at Perak Museum, seems to betray South-Indian influences from the 8th-9th century, though two other contemporary bronze figures of the same deity, found from a tin-mine near Sungei Siput, betray Pāla-influences. Some of the Buddhist bronzes seem to be affiliated to the Dvāravatī-style which seems to have extended up to Ligor. Some later specimens have affiliation to South-India and Pāla-Bengal. A small bronze image of Tārā, an eight-armed Mahāyānist goddess, seated on a throne and dating probably from the 10th century A.D. was also discovered from Caiya.[49] Two magnificent bronze statues of Lokeśvara discovered about 30 years back just outside the enclosure of Vat Phra That is "remarkable for the serenity of its feature the easy sway of the shoulders and the magnificence of the jewellery which adorn it." One of these images, 2¼ft. high, has received the highest praise from Coedes who considers it to be "among the masterpieces of the sculpture of India and Indo-China"[50] The style of these beautiful images is purely Pāla. Votive tablets (oval pieces of baked clay plaque) ranging from the Gupta period to the 10th-11th centuries, with an image of Buddha or other Buddhist divinities in the centre, in non-conventional sitting posture, have also been found in various places of the Malay Peninsula.[51]

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Borneo/Kalimantan has also a legacy from the ancient Hindu period, but we hardly know anything regarding its early architecture, as no specimen has survived. It could not be otherwise, because, regarding the condition of housing in Pu ni (W. Borneo) we read in the *History of the Sung Dynasty* (960-1279) : "The house in which the king lives is covered with palm-leaves and the cottages of the people are covered with grass."[52] Whatever little idea can be gathered is from the decoration of the well-known incense-burner of the Sambar-find.[53] The incense-burner has general appearance of South-Indian caskets having the shape of a sanctuary tower, as some specimens in the Madras Museum indicate.[54] The motif of the caitya-arches on pilasters is Indian, though the arches lack the usual points or crests.[55] The incense-burner has been dated by some to the seventh or early eighth century A.D., but it is doubtful if such specimens of architecture existed in Borneo during this time or even considerably afterwards, as the Chinese evidence indicates. As late as A.D. 1225, Chau Ju-Kua observed in regard to Po-Ni (=Pu-Ni or West Borneo) : "Their god lit. Buddha) has no image in human shape ; his dwelling consists of a reed-covered building of several storeys, shaped like a pagoda ; below there is a small shrine protecting two pearls ; this is called the 'Sacred Buddha' ".

Some sculptural objects have, however, been found in the Island. At Kombeng, which is situated in the valley of the river Pantun, a tributary of the river Telen, were discovered a number of images belonging to the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. These images were found in a two-chambered cave and most of them had tenons below the padestal ; this fact indicates that the images were permanently fixed in the niches of some temples wherefrom they were forcibly removed by priests or others to safer zone. The nature of this terrible danger cannot be ascertained at present, but it was of such dimension that it might have involved the destruction of the images themselves.

The images of the Kombeng find[57] may be divided from the viewpoint of religion, into two groups (1) Brāhmaṇic, mainly Śaivite and (2) Buddhist.

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The Śaivite images consist of the figures of Mahādeva, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Mahākāla, Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa. The Buddhist images include Vajrapāṇi, Dhyānī-Bodhisattva. The head of an image of Brahmā has also been found. The largest figure is that of Mahādeva,[58] which is easily the best of the lot. It is a four-armed deity standing on a lotus-cushion, with appropriate emblems in different hands. The beautiful execution of the figure reminds one of the figures of the same got at Prambanan. Other inages of Śaiva pantheon aie less pleasing and some what heavy.

The Buddhist images include a figure of Vajrapāṇi, with a tall head-dress, the right hand in varamudrā pose and left hand holding a lotus—surmounted by a vajra. Another image seems to refer to a Dhyānī-Bodhisattva (Sambhoga-kāya) emanating from a Dhyānī-Buddha, probably an Amitābha. Excepting one case, the Buddhist images of Kombeng differ from any example of a Buddhist deity known elsewhere and therefore opens up diverse problems which we cannot resolve at present.

A stone image of the Buddhist deity of Mañjuśrī was found at a site lying between Gunung Kupang and Karang Intan, District Martapura, in the residency of South and East Borneo and it reveals a purely Indian style.

The Śaivite images of the Kombeng find reveal, in their style and grouping, some novel features which have provoked different views from different scholars. Bosch[59] compared the Mahādeva and Nandīśvara images with relevant figures of the Jakarta Museum (nos. 103-f and 103-g) and noted specially the peculiarities of the figure of Kārtikeya. In view of the pronounced Indo-Javanese charter of these images, Bosch came to the conclusion that they are affiliated to the Hindu-Javanese school of art. Commenting on this view, one scolar has observed : "The images certainly show an influence derived from a Hindu-Javanese source. Yet on the evidence of certain peculiar features, they can hardly be considered to be the work of artists from Java. We shall have to imagine either a colony of Hindu-Javanese origin, which for a considerable time had lost touch with the mother-land, or a

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Hinduized indigenous (viz. Dayak) population. The Buddhist images show grave errors and misconceptions. The stone-masons who fashioned these icons must, therefore, have been separated from their coreligionists for a long space of time. The Śaiva figures lead to the same conclusion."[60] Not unnaturally therefore R. C. Majumdar has assigned an independent role to this phase of Hindu sculptural art of Borneo, although this might have been affected to a certain extent by the traditions of Indo-Javanese art.

In western Borneo, by the side of the river Kapuas, we come across some archaeological remains which seem to belong to the early phase of India's contact with Borneo. Among such remains from western Borneo we may count the Mukhaliṅga of Sepauk (in Sintang), which perhaps deserves a separate mention.[61] It is a remarkable specimen of the Sarvasoma-type. Its lower portion or Brahmabhāga is square the middle portion or Viṣṇubhāga is octagonal and the upper portion or Śivabhāga is cylindrical. All the parts are of equal height. Among other relics belonging to the Śaiva pantheon, we may refer to some liṅgas and yonis from the Malabai-region of western Borneo and an image of Gaṇeśa from North-Borneo.[62]

Apart from the Buddhist image under the Kombeng find, Buddhism has also been reflected in other places of the island. At Batu Pahat in West Borneo, near the springs of Sungei Tekarek, have been depicted series of umbrellas over what is possibly a miniature stūpa. On the sides have been incised eight inscriptions in somewhat late Pallava script.[63] Four of them repeat the well-known Buddhist formula *ajñānāccīyate karmma* and three others repeat the familiar formula *ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā*, both of which have been found inscribed on some records from the Malay Peninsula. The eighth inscription is mostly illegible. The most important discovery from West Borneo is perhaps the so-called Sambas-finds.[64] The finds were actually from Palangai Sabong, a place about 15 miles from Sambas. Here were discovered, from an earthenware interred underground, gold and silver Buddhist images, of which four pertain to the Buddha and

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five to Avalokiteśvara. Competent observers have thought that these images were probably wrought in the sixth or seventh century A.D. and that they betray affinity with similar images found in the Malay Peninsula. The standing Buddhas of the Sambas find are affiliated to the Gupta style. The most famous Bhddhist image from Borneo is, however, the bronze figure of Buddha from Kota Bangun, but unfortunately it was destroyed by a disastrous fire during the Paris Exhibition of 1131.[65]

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN JAVA

Archaeological, including epigraphic data and foreign literary sources constitute almost the only source-materials for the study of the political, economic, social and religious life of Central Java up to the ninth century A.D. Admittedly the data are meagre, but whatever precious little information is available enables us to draw up the outline of a life which was highly organised. If we study the oldest inscriptions of Central Java from the view-point of what are purely Indian and purely Indonesian features, study their relative strength, and go backwards in a reverse evolutionary process, it would indicate the comparatively weak hold of Indianism, if I may say so, on the tribal and political organisation of Central Java, at least in the early stage. There is a number of official titles, but although the exact significance of many of them eludes us for the most part, their bewildering number and the non-Indian character of the majority of them indicate the strong, steady and efficient base of Central Javanese tribal life, on which Indian way of life and religious system were sought to be imosed. The titles of *rājā*, *mahārāja*, *mantrī*, *mahāmantri*, *pati(h)*, *bhagavanta*, *likhitapatra*, *nāyaka*, *upakalpa*, *kāyastha* and perhaps a few others are of Indian origin, but the overwhelming majority of the titles are of Indonesian or Austronesian origin. This implies that before the arrival of the Indians in Java, the original populatin of Central Java had a political organisation, whose origin cannot be satisfactorily traced at present, but if the meaning of these Old-Javanese titles, in so far as we can interprete them, be any guide, they seem to point unerringly to a well-regulated tribal life. in which the officials of various categories had a distinct role to play. Apparently the fine distinction of officials belonging to similar cadre and having similar significance.....for instance, the *tuha* (*n*), *juru*, *rama*, etc. who are doubtless some kind of village chiefs or elders..... is hard

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to determine at present, but the multiplicity of village officials itself indicated that there existed a tribal organisation of efficient type in the villages. There was a regular official hierarchy with difference in rank and on ceremonial occasions, they were normally seated in order of their status (yathākrama, as the inscription tell us) and they obtained foundation-gifts or confirmation money, according to their status. Reference may be made to the copper-plate of Lintakan,[1] the Stone of Sangguran[2] and some other inscriptions in this regard. Among the category of officers below the king, the highest dignitaries enjoyed the titles of *raka, rakryan, rakarayan*, etc. The term *raka* appears to be the abbreviated form of *rakarayan* and its variants. The full title may be derived from the Skt. Word *kārya* or *kriyā*, to which the Indonesian honorific *ra* (*ḍa*) and the suffix *an* have been added. If we add *ra* to the word *kariyāna* which occurs in the Skt. inscription of Kalasan, the word constituted will be *rakariyana*, whish will have almost the same phonetic value as *rakarayan*. As far as the published data prior to A.D. 929 go, the honourable title *ra* occurs only four times in the Old-Javanese inscriptions. The whole title should then signify : the Honourable ones to do or execute works (as ordered by the superiors). This interpretation seems to me to be etymologically and factually correct. It may also be noted in this connexion that *ḍa* also occurs as honourable title in Old-Javanese charters. Excepting this possile case and others of definite Skt. origin referred to above, the vast mojority of titles are pre-Indian hence Indonesian or Austronesian in origin. In this tribal organisation, the status of the king was high. The theory of divine origin of kingship, as in India (the Manusaṃhitā says : mahatī devatā hyeṣā nararūpena tiṣṭhati), coupled with ancestral worship in India and in the Ur-Indonesian society led to the deification of kings, but this was carried to an excess in Indo-China and Indonesia as was never dreamt of in India. In the copper-plate of Kañcana,[3] the king is called sākṣāt trivikrama i.e. Viṣṇu Incarnate. The theory and practice of the idea of the divine nature of kingship, fostered by the Indian Brāhmaṇas who visited the royal courts of South-East Asia, got a start

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in Central Java, so far as Indonesia is concerned, they reached their high watermark in East-Java. We cannot, however, determine if the king was an absolute monarch, but he was apparently so, although the absolutism of the Central Javanese monarchs might have been governed by tribal customs and practices coming down from Pre-historic times. He was assisted by numerous officials at different levels of the administration. As the base of the society and the State was agro-economic, the structure of royal taxation was not laid out, at least primarily, in terms of gold or silver, but also consisted of a share in the commodities. In the freeholds, the lords' dues consisted of the profits derived out of those masters of trade whose goods were not tax-free. Besides, there were other kinds of taxes like *avur*, *arik-arik*, *ṣkar ṭahun* etc.[4] As agriculture constituted the life-line of the community and it had a pre-Hindu origin, the native genius had developed a meticulous irrigation system, with different sets of official for regulation and distribution of irrigation water. It seems that the official called *huler* (variant : *hulu air*, *hulair*) was a person who had the charge of distribution of water over the rice-fields, while *matamvak* seems to be a village elder who had the charge of supervising larger water-works. The *variga* or the village astronomer had probably the task of determining proper and auspicious time for cultivation, sowing, reaping, social and religious festivities.

The majority of insriptions are land-gifts. Land-gifts were usually recorded on stone or copper-plates. It is interesting to note that not only temples for gods but also funerary temples for deified beings have been set up under the foundation-charters. Kings and others have donated lands mainly for the institution of freeholds for religious purposes. The kings have sometimes contributed to the common pool of gifts to temples. In A.D. 880, for instance, king rake Kayuvangi contributed three kati of gold as his share in the gift to the Bhaṭāra of Salingsingan.[5] The gifts for the maintenance of the freehold included not only savath or irrigated fields, but also arid fields, marshy lands, gardens[5] and even forests.[6] It is not clear if the

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grant of forests, as done by king Tulodang at Lintakan and Tunah in A.D. 919 was exclusively a royal prerogative. An interesting part of the whole thing is that sometimes, due to lurking dangers from robbers, tgal or uncultivated fields, as at Gurubhakti,[7] were converted into freeholds, because the villagers of Balingavan being in charge of these fields had to pay the penalty for any mishap occurring in these fields.[8]

The first gift of land for religious purpose, as far as present records indicate, was made in the year A.D. 752, in a Sanskrit charter published by de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia*, under the name Inscription of Plumpungan.[9] It records the gift of the villagh of Hampra, lying in Trigrāmvyāma (?), for the creation of a freehold for religious purposes, apparently by a person named Bhānu. A better preserved and more well-known record is the inscription of Kañjuraha (Dinaja),[10] dated A.D. 760, which records the gift of "land, well-fed cows, together with herds of buffaloes, with male and female slaves at the front." Although not clearly stated, it was, on the analogy of later chaters, a freehold land on which the temple of Agastya was created. The paraphernalia of witnesses and the distribution of confirmation-gifts do not occur here, but a beginning can be seen in the Kalasan inscription, dated A.D. 778.[11] It is stated that the temple of Tārā, a Buddhist goddess, was built with the assistance of *Pangkur*, *Tavan* and *Tirip* and the village of Kalasa was bestowed on the congregation. The event was witnessed not only by the officials referred to above, but also by the headmen of villages. Both the names of the freeholds and their areas have been described for the first time in the stone of Dieng, A.D. 809.[12] In A.D. 819, certain classes of tax-collectors were expressly ordered not to visit the headmen of Amrati for the collection of taxes. It was found necessary sometimes to purchase lands for the purpose of converting them into freeholds, and the first example of this is provided by the Plates of Kañcana, dated A.D. 860,[13] where the *paravarggas* of Bungur South sold their lands for gold 7 kati 12 suvarṇa and 10 māṣa. It is interesting to note in this connection that certain Sanskrit terms were used to express the

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value of the land sold for the creation of the freeholds. It is possible that during this time silver and gold grains or sized leaves thereof, in stead of coins, were used. It may also be observed in this connexion that this inscription also offers the unique example of the creation of a hereditary freehold as a measure of special royal favour to ths spiritual preceptor. The copper-plates of Mantyasih I, dated A.D. 907.[14] also registers a strange phenomenon, to judge by modern standards. They refer to *savah*-fields of the united body of the *nayakas*, forests of the Susuṇḍara and the Sumving, and state that the *savah* fields and forests "were marked out into freehold for the united body of the patihs to serve as a rotation-property among the patihs of Mantyasih (and their) relatives, to each for three years." It appears from the charters that when necessary the *tgal*-fields and the forest lands could be converted into *savah* or irrigated land for the creation of freeholds for religious purposes, including *caru*-offering and others. The copper-plate of Ra Tavun II, dated A.D. 881,[15] describes how the tgal-fields with *halalang*-grass were converted into a freehold for the temple of Semar. It seems to me that this Semar is no other than the indigenous hero of the Javanese wayang-shows. Perhaps an unusual thing is the setting up of freeholds by deceased persons. In one of the inscriptions, a king created at Śataśṛṅga is stated to have created freeholds to maintain a ferry-service over the river Paparahuan and provided in that connexion a jettyshed, dwelling houses and boats. perhaps also a rest-house (tekan pasek) and cooking pot.[16] The deceased king Vagisvara also set up in A.D. 924 a freehold at Vangvang bangen.[17] A reasonable explanation is perhaps that the decision for the creation of such freeholds was already made by the king himself while he was alive.

The earlier land-gifts were simpler in character, but as times passed the grants became more complex. In developed charters, the structure or framework is, as will appear from the inscriptions of Kembang Arum[18] and Lintakan,[19] as fellows :

First is given a datailed description of the time, according to detailed Indian time-scedule, along with the names of the Mal.-Polynesian days of six and five-day weeks. This is

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followed by the name of the king or other persons who may be responsible far the foundation of the freehold or other institutions. The royal orders, if the charters emanated from the king, were then communicated throught different *rakryans* or other high fuctionaries and then these orders were executed through appropriate government officers of lower category. In the well-developed charters, meticulous details are given regarding the boundary and the measurement of the lands in question. The object for which the foundation is made is then narrated. The freehold is then exempted from the levy of the *mangilala drabya haji* or the collectors of royal dues, of whom detailed list is furnished in many inscriptions, and its privileges are elaborately described. We then find the government officials and others receiving confirmation gifts in money, ring and/or clothings of different patterns according to the status of the recipients. Gold-gifts, perhaps in the form of grains or leaves of gold, were occasionally given to kings or members of the highest status, but the quantity given is not commensurate with the description of Java in the Inscription of king Sañjaya (Canggal Inscription) as "rich in gold-minese".[20] The kings and other august personages have also been recipients of special kinds of cloth called *Gañjar haji patra sisī*, *Kalyāga*, *Ambay-ambay*, *Sulasih* etc. *Gañjar haji* and *Kalyāga cloth*,[21] as also *Simsim prasada* (*voh*)-ring[22] continued to charm the East-Javans, as they had done the Central, but new patterns of cloth, such as *Tapis cadar* cloth, which is sometimes given to the king[23] also came into use and is highly prized. An East-Javanese inscription specifically says[24] : that all the *rakryans* received their cloths *kāyānurūpa* i.e. according to their stature or size. A *rājayogya vḍihan* i.e. apparel fit for the king is referred to in the record from Gunung Butak, dated 1216 Śaka.[25] Silver and ordinary cloths have been given to presons of lower status. The names of all the officials according to their status, and of others, high and low, men, women and children, have been given.[26] Even the slaves have sometimes been offered gifts. Foundation-charters from both Central and East-Java have sometimes granted special

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privileges to the beneficiaries re : dress, ornaments, food reserved for the royalty.[27] The foundation ceremony was attended with the consecration of the sacred stone and it was marked by merry-making, jesting, feasts, drinking of wine, dancing of matrons in a circle and play of music. That women knew music is not suprising, because the Chinese annals also refer to the fact that between 860 and 873 the rulers of Kaling (Central Java) sent envoy to China to present female musicians.[28] Sometimes the buffoons regaled the assembled people on such occasions[29] and masked players possibly participated in acting or dancing to the tune of various musical instruments.[30] The inscription of Trui Tepusan II, dated 842 A.D.,[31] refers to a *(ma)ḍanggi*, who apears to be the same as *mṛdaṅgin*, a kind of drummer known in India by the same name. Not less interesting is the reference to *rāvaṇahasta* in the plates of Mantyasih dated A.D.[32] Etymologically, the term signifies a class of musicians who measure time in music by striking palms of hands, and are still to be found in India. A person of such description is to be found in a musical party in the relief of Barabudur.[33] Some believe that the slendro-scale in Javanese music is derived from Bengal but the point is contested by others. Chinese annals[34] also bear some evidence on the musical instruments of Java, which included transversal flute, drums and wooden boards. Dancing was also widely cultivated. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*,[35] dated A.D. 1365, the musical instruments included not only the *merdangyas* (seremonial drums), but also the *paḍahas* (conical drums) truts (?), śangkas (conches), *tarayans* (straight trumpets). The *bhaṭṭas* or singers, dancing girls, relay-singers have also been referred to. It is also recorded in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lai* (1416)[36] that on the occasion of marriage in Java the relations of the bridegroom beat copper drums and gongs, blow on cocoanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo and burn firework.

Various kinds of food-stuff were consumed on the occasion of the foundation-ceremony. The copper-plates of Kembang Arum tell us the people who had assembled at the ceremony were provided with dishes of exellent rice, dried meat of

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kadivas and *kakap* fish, cray-fish, eggs, buffaloes,[37] goat, *tumpuk, asinasin, halahala,* etc, cooked with spices ; vegetables were also served.[38] The gay life or Central Java, as reflected in the foundation ceremonies, considerably diminished in similar functions of East-Java ; the concomitant feasts and confirmatory gifts also decreased considerably. Whether this phenomenon denotes a deterioration in economic condition of the people or merely indicates the non-importance of such things in the foundation ceremonies of East-Java is difficult to say. The prized dishes of East-Java consisted of such items as meat of tortoise, wild boar, castrated dog, besides vegetables of various categories including flowering creepers. In the annual court-feast at Majapahit,[39] during the reign of Hayam Vuruk, the higher class people were served with mutton, buffalo, poultry, game, wild boar, bees, fish and ducks, but the meat of dogs, tortoise, worms, mice were forbidden for them. The food prepared for the common people included "frogs, worms, tortoises, mice, dogs." Fermented sap of cocoanut and lontar-palm, distilled liquor of sugar palm, fermented rice and molasses etc. went round by during the royal feast.

Various kinds of articles, including food-stuff and implements were offered to *vatu sima* or the sacred foundation-stone and to god Brahmā who is here identified with the god of fire.

The manner of seating of the assembled people is sometimes described with meticulous details. The *vahuta hyang kudur* then uttered the imprecatory formula, calling upon gods and other elements, including the spirits (both Indian and Indonesian) to witness the foundation ceremony and product it for all time to come. If anybody disturbs the foundation, he is threatened with destruction in various ways, the methods of which have been elaborately described. Curse-formula is not unknown to Indian charters, but the various penalties proposed the transgressors in Old-Javanese records are, so far as I know, entirely Javanese innovations. It seems however that towards the end of the Central Javanese period, the curses were not becoming effective. Hence, in addition to

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curses, fines were also being imposed for infringement of the rights conferred by the charters.[40]

The Old-Javanese Society af Central Java, was apparently modelled on the theory of caturvarṇa and caturāśrama,[41] but how far this system was compatible with a tribal way of life is difficult to say. Some stresses in this regard are noticeable in the Old-Javanese lawbooks. In foundation-charters, the order of seating arrangement (yathākrama) in the feasts does not appear to have been done on the basis of caste, but on official or tribal status, though it is not possible to be sure of it. If the modern caste-system of Bali conveys any indication regarding the practice in Hindu-Java, the system must have gained appreciable currency in ancient Java. It is however understandable that persons in the court-circles, temple-zone the developed areas and their peripheries, the ports, etc., must have been subjected to strong Hindu and Buddhist influences, but outside those circles Indian influences gradually diminished.

The position of women in the Indo-Javanese society, as revealed in inscriptions, was fairly high, for they appear in the official role with official titles. We find them exercising proprietory rights over landed properity and other material things. In the Copper-plate of Taji (Panaraga)[42] we find a lady as owner of lands. Among the *rama tpi sirings* i.e. heads of villages, we come across, in the Inscription of Sugih Manek,[43] a woman who is mother of Kalangan. There are other examples in the same inscription. A woman could borrow money on her own account, as the case of *Si* campa in the so-called Inscription of Dieduksman[44] proves. These examples refer to the high status of women in the society of Central Java from an unimpeachable source. It appears from some inscsiptions[45] that ladies could perhaps bear the *samgat*-title, but if so, it is not clear if that title was borne in her own right as a *samgat* or simply as the wife of a *samgat*. Similarly, a *raka*-title seems to be borne by *dyah* Muatan, mother of Bingah, in the Inscription of Kinave.[46] She marked out a freehold for her own children to the exclusion of her step-son and step-daughter. The *rakryan*-title has also been borne by a

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queen. In the inscription of Sugih Manek,[47] for example, we read of a *rakryan binihaji parameśvarī Dyah* and *hadyan*-titles have been borne by young (?) persons of both sexes, but these titles indicated aristocratic status rather than official position.[48] *Maharaja rake* Limus has been called *dyah* Devindra, which was his personal name, in a record from A.D. 890[49] Similarly Prince Bhūmi also bore the title *dyah* in a record from Vuatan tija.[50] The widowed queen of a king cremated at Pastika was the younger sister of a *pamgat* and she was called *sang hadyan* Palutungan.[51] Polygamy was not entirely unknown in Central Java as at least two cases of it have been referred to in the charters from Central Java.[52] Women were associated with the ceremonial foundation of freeholds, received gifts and participated in community dancing.

When the gravity of political centre shifted from Central Java to East Java in about A.D. 929, this did not mark a violent break with the social and political institutions of Central Java. Indeed, if the early inscriptions of East Java be any guide, it would appeaar that many officials, as were found in the charters of Central Java, make their reappearance in the records of East Java, although some titles like *pitāmaha*, *bhagavanta*, *rama magɛman*, *rāma maratā*, etc disappear altogther. The structure of the inicriptions no doubt remains almost the same, but the elaborate feasts and gay life associated with the foundation-ceremonies of Central Java seem to have largely disappeared. The ceremony becomes more official and bureaucratic. Besides, almost all the deities, who were invoked in the charters of Central Java, continue to hold their places tenaciously till the last days of Hindu authority in Java. The curse-formula seems to have become, by this time almost stereotyped. because it contains the names of even such deities as were already disappearing from the religious life of Central Java.[53] The position of the deities in the curse-formula continues to be almost the same till the last days. As in A.D. 929,[54] so in 1323[55] the charters invoke Hyang Haricandana Agasti Maharsi Nandisvara Mahakala Durggadevi etc.

The official titles of kings have become more elaborate,

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more Sanskritic and even birth-names (*garbhotpa'ti*)[56] have become Sanskritic in many cases, though examples to the contrary are also furnished by the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, the *Para-raton* and historical romances. The kings have been discribed as incarnations of gods. The favours of the king emanate, as early as the days of king Airlangga (A.D. 1116), from the *lbu ni pāduka śrī mahārāja* (dust of the shoes of the illustrious great king). A powerful king occasionally calls himself *ratu cakravartta* (= rāja cakravartin) [57] and even Parameśvara.[58] The copper-plates of Sidoteka from A.D. 1323 describes the king as *Paduka śrī mahārāja rājādhirāja pa(ra)neśvara*. Queens have also fallen in line with the same trend of thovght. Pāduka śrī mahārāja śrī v(i)ṣṇuva(r)ddha(ni kṛtana)garamahās rajadohitra śrī kṛtarājasajayavarddhanamahārājaputrika is called manindita (Skt. anindita : irreproachable) jagadiśvara.[59] Indeed, many kings have described themselves in their inscriptions as incarnations of Trivikrama or Viṣṇu, such as Siṇḍok,[60] Airlangga,[61] Jayabhaya,[62] Gandra,[63] Kāmeśvara,[64] Sarveśvara-Śṛṅga,[65] etc. Queens have also sometimes fallen in line. In a record dated between A.D. 1572-87,[66] queen Jayaviṣṇuvardhani has been described as Sārdhanāriśvara.[67] Many such instances have been recorded in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. This does not necessarily mean that all these rulers faithfully followed the religion of the divinity, of which they were supposed to be the incarnations , as stated in the royal charters. It would appear strange to many that while king Siṇḍok's coronation name of Īśānavikrama betrays a Śaivite-tinge, he has been described, as stated above, as an incarnation of Trivikrama. It may be recalled that a record of king Airlangga has stated in regard to Siṇḍok[68] : śrī māhārāja haridevatā sang lumāh ring iśānavajra i.e. the illustrious great king (who is) god Hari (and) cremated at Iśānavajra. As Īśānavajra appears as a Buddhist sanctuary in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (77 : 1) we have to postulate lhat a king, who was deemed to be an incarnation of Hari, could be cremated in a sanctuary which became Buddhist. This is apparently an anomalous position. but it really indicates the strength of Javanese religious syncretism, which cut across dogmatic lines.

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This is further revealed in an inscription of king Jayabhaya who calls himself an incarnation of Madhausūdana, but followed the Bhairavamārga and was a yogīśvara.[69] If *Rājapatigundala* is to be believed for an authoritative exposition of the term yogīśvara,[70] he was also a śaiva yogī of the highest class during his life or a part of it, but how he combined it with his royal duty is anybody's guess. His life seems to illustrate the phenomenon of Hari-Hara. The case of Airlangga will be discussed shortly.

The society was also greatly modelled, as in Central Java, on the pattern of the Hindu caste system and the four stages of life, but obviously the majority of the people, as in modern Bali, belonged to the Śūdra caste. Many inscriptions of East Java refer to the four castes and/or four stages of life.[71] The distribution of images (not the detached ones), temples, kratons and of inscriptions, which set up the freeholds, indicate the points from which Indian cultural influences radiated througout central and eastern Java in varying degrees.[72] In the dissemination of this culture, the Brāhmaṇa-priests, various sects of the Śaivas, the hermits, the Buddhist Bhikṣus, etc., not to speak of the Indianized natives and indigenous women who had married the Indians, played a great role. The kings obviously belonged to the Kṣatriya community, but they have hardly referred to this fact. King Sarveśvara, however, not only calls himself an incarnation of Śrivikrama, but also describes himself as a Kṣatriya.[73] Inscriptions also refer to *rājaputra*, *rajaputrī*, *kulaputra*, *kulaputri*,[74] *hajuan*,[75] the *hulun* or slaves. The functional groups in the society are mearly the same as we find in Central Java, including smiths of various categories, weavers of cotton goods, makers of tools, wickerwoks, nets, paints, umbrella, sugar, boats, etc.

The four castes and four stages of life in a the society of eastern Java did not constitute a theoretical proposition, as would appear from a study of the inscriptions and literature and from the current practices in Bali. We learn from the combined testimony of the so-called Calcutta Stone-inscription of king Airlangga and the Copper-plates of Janggala, 851 Śaka (?)[76] thāt Airlangga, then a fugitive, lived at Vanagiri

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with hermits ; his follower Narottama even wore barks of trees for clothing and ate the food of monks and hermits. Narottama lived with the future king at the God's House day and night, In the early records of king Airlangga, we come across, immediately after the name of the king, a lady bearing the august name of rakryan mahamantri i hino sri sangrāma-vijaya Dharmaprasādottunggadevī. She might be king Airlangga's daughter, who became a nun sometime after A.D. 1037 and joined the monastery of Pucangan founded by Airlangga in A.D 1041 under the name of Kali Suci.[77] Airlangga seems himself to have adopted the āśrama of vānaprastha or yati and led an ascetic life. It is generally believed that the "aji pāduka mpungku sang pinakachatra ning bhuvaṇa" who lived at the Dharma Gandhakuṭi in Kambang Śrī, as mentioned in the copperplates of Keboan Pasar from A.D. 1032[78] was no other than king Airlangga under a monastic garb. An inscription of a later king speaks of a canal dug by Pāduka mpungku bhaṭāra guru sang lumāḥ ri rīrtha and another record confirms a favour earlier granted in 1039 A.D. by Bhaṭāra Guru with the seal of Garuḍamukha.[79] As Garuḍamukha was the seal of Airlangga, the Bhaṭāra Guru seems to be no other than king Airlangga himself. If this be so, it would be another interesting example of Javanese syncretism, because Bhaṭāra Guru, both in Old-Javanese mythology and theology, is Lord Śiva, and Airlangga who was indetified in his mundane life with this Bhaṭāra Guru became, after his death, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as his Belahan image would testify. This type of metamorphosis is, from Indian point of view, though not inconceivable, a strange phenomenon, but this was not considered to be so in Java. Even as late as the 14th century, we come across the case of queen Gāyatrī, better known as Rājapatnī, who was daughter of king Kṛtanagara and widow of Kṛtarājasa who had adopted the life of a Buddhist mun. She has been described as Buddhamarganusari i.e. follower of the Buddhist path.[80] The castes and aśramas of life were not therefore exercises in futility, although these had necessarily put certain strain in the Indo-Javanese society in respect of the administration of the customary and Hidu laws.

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The position of women in the East-Javanese society continued to the high. Apart fram the illustrious princess Sanggrāmavijaya Dharmmaprasādottungadevī and Rājapatnī, others who pass across the stage of Javanese history include Mahendra-datta, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, Devi Suhitā and others. Among less well-known cases, one may refer to the record of 934 A.D.,[81] which refers to *rakryan binihaji mangibil* who appears to be the junior wife of the king. The stone of Tengaran dated 935 A.D. also refers to rakryān śrī parameśvarī śrī Varddhanī Kbi who, on account of the title of Parameśvari seems to be the principle consort of the sovereign[82]

It seems that in the higher circles, polygamy was practised in a fairly wide scale. The re-marriage of widows, a classical example of which is furnished by Queen Ḍeḍes, was also well-known, and in some cases at least the ladies had their children by the first marriage. There is no doubt that the system of *svayamvara* (choice of hasband by the lady) was known. The *Pararaton* refers to the marriage of princess Bhre Kahuripan in this way. The degree of prohibition within which marriage had to be restricted was very narrow in Java, as Aji Jayanagara married his own step-sister. A peculiar custom is referred to in the Chinese annals under the title "meeting of bamboo spears". This was something like a gladiatorial contest between two men, who fought with bamboo spears; they charged each other three times and if any one of the contestants was killed, the victor was permitted by the king, who attended this annual affair with his queen, to compensate the relations of the deceased with a gold coin, but the widow was allowed to be the prize of the victor.[81] If we leave aside theoretical exposition of punishments for adultery, we hardly know anything about it from unimpeachable Javanese sources, but Chinese annals tell us in that, in San-fo-tsi[82] and Borneo[83] the penalty of adultery was death.

As marriage and funeral rites of the Malayo-Indonesian world betray some common features, these will be discussed in the last chapter of this book.

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II

In the sphere of religion, Śaivism occupies the highest place of honour, followed by Buddhism, to judge by its references in the Old-Javanese inscriptions of Central Java. Although the overwhelming grandeur of Barabudur generally blurs our vision, this position seems also to be confirmed by the archaeological, including sculptural, evidence. The members of the Hindu Trinity were well-known. The inscription of king Sañjaya (Canggal Inscription) from 732 A.D. pays eulogy to the self-created god Brahma, "who has fixed the regulations of the world to the post of the *Vedas*", and is "the Lord of the Yogins".[84] In the imprecatory formulae of the Old-Javanese inscriptions, he has been invoked as a member of the Hindu Trinity along with other deities, but when he has been worshipped at the time of the foundation of a freehold he does not appear to be a member of the Hindu Trinity, but is the god of Fire. This is clearly stated in the inscription of Kembang Arum, dated A.D. 902,[85] where we read in the curse-formula uttered by *makudur* : "Just as the dead hen can not return to life, just as the shell of the egg is broken into hundred parts, just as *sang hyang* Brahmā always burns fuels on all sides.....similarly (may be destroyed) the unrighteous person who disturbs", etc. Immediately before the curse-formula was uttered, this *sang hyang* Brahmā was placed firmly on the *susu kulumpang* or the sacred foundation-stone. In that role, Brahma received several sets of clothes and some money. The second member of the Hindu Trinity is first referred to in an inscription of king Pūrṇavarman, c. A.D. 450, where the footprints of the king have been compared to those of Viṣṇu. The poet of the Canggal Inscription, dated A.D. 732 has paid an eulogy to Him, by describing Him as lying "on the surface of the watery-bed (*anantaśayana*)" and as "Lord of Śrī". In this inscription the island of Java, spelt as Yava. has been described as "the great mark of footprints of Puruṣa". He appears no where else in the inscriptions of Central Java, except thrice in the imprecatory formula and

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once in a comparison where he has been called Trivikrama.[86] The most popular deity was Śiva, who was worshipped in his various manifestations and names. The Canggal inscription, referred to above, reads in verse 4 : "May the three-eyed one, whose matted locks are adorned with the crescent Moon ;..... who, given to solitude, by His renunciation (of all things), always creates the wonder of the yogins ; who, by his eight-fold bodies and through comparison but not selfishness, sustains the universe; may He, the Lord of (all) beings, protect you". If we leave aside the Śaiva emblems over the Tuk Mas inscription,[87] this is the first clear reference to Śiva, but here He was worshipped in His liṅga-manifestation. The prevalence of menhirs and similar stone-shafts in Pre-Hindu Indonesia, which were perhaps widely revered as the seat of ancestral spirits when they were invoked, facilitated the adoption of Śiva-liṅgas as gods, as they did not look much different. The liṅga represented the essence of kingship, and we find king Sañjaya installing a Śiva-liṅga on Mt. Vukir on the 6th of October, A.D. 732. The opening verses of the Stone of Vukiran, dated in A.D. 862, which is dedicated to a Śiva-liṅga, run : "Wherefrom all originated and wherein (all) are born, wherein (all) merge again, to Thee they pray, to Śiva, the Lord unto you, the doer of good". The inscription refers to a god-house called Bhadrāloka, where a Bhadreśvara liṅga was probably housed. Several inscriptions begin with salutation to Śiva or Rudra.[88] The last dated inscription of Central Java, the Stone of Sangguran (Minto-Stone), dated A.D. 928,[89] is one of the largest charters of Java, and it records the foundation of a freehold for the deity (Bhaṭāra) of the sacred prasada kabhaktyan in the lands of the united body of the chiefs of smiths (*kajuru gusalyan*) at Manañjung. The Bhaṭāra referred to here was probably Śiva,who has been mentioned in recto 9. To this deity four kinds of offerings had to presented everyday. How popular Śiva was may be gauged from the fact that when the Plates of Pesindon (I & II) were discovered by a Javan in 1877 from desa Pesindon in the Vanasaba division in the residency of Kedu, the haul included gold images of Śiva, Śiva-Pārvatī and a liṅga, while the silver-

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images consisted of five Śivas, two Pārvatīs, one Śiva-Pārvatī, one Brahmā, one Viṣṇu, one Kuvera and several other gods. Śiva was also known in Java under the simple name of Bhaṭāra and his consort under the name of Bhaṭārī, though the former term has also been used in respect of Buddha,[90] Brahma,[91] Haricandana[92] and others, but in respect of Śiva and Buddha the use of the word Bhaṭāra was deemed to be euough. The term Bhaṭāra appears to be derived from the Sanskrit word Bhaṭṭāraka. Under this designation Śiva first appears in the inscription of Śivagerha, A.D. 885,[93] where *Si* Nang is reported, in a lengthy record, to have completed the construction of a Bhaṭāra Śiva's temple. The full text of this inscription has not yet been published, but it was obviously constructed in a faeehold. The first clear reference to a Bhaṭāra Śiva's freehold occurs in the Copper-Plates of Kañcana, from A.D. 860, pl. IV B.[94] where Bhaṭāra was assigned 2 tempahs of land, while Bhaṭārī's share was 2 jong 1 kikil. One of the temples of Bhaṭāra was set up at Devasabha in A.D. 901,[95] while other freeholds for the Lord and His consort were set up Kinavuhan.[96] A bunch of strange names occurs in the Copper-plates of Mantyasih I, A.D. 907,[97] where reference has been made to the worshipping of the Bhaṭāra (s) of Malangkuśeśvara, of Pūteśvara, of Kutusan, Śilābhedeśvara and of Tuleśvara in each year. These recall names like the Rājarājeśvara temple, the Bhadreśvara temple, etc., and the mind inevitably turns to South-India and Indo-China, but the analogy does not seem to be applicable here, as the first part of the name does not, as at present known, refer to any ruler. We learn from an inscription of king Dakṣa (A.D. 915) that he made munificent gift for the Bhaṭāra of Barāhāśrama at (the) Sarayu, comprising "forests, uncultivated fields (and) rivers in plains (and) in hillocks", in the villages of Poh Galuh and Er Kuving. For the worship of the deity, apparently (the text is mutilated here) "six round baskets and six four-sided baskets filled with unfaded flowers and with the best of blue lotuses" had to be presented to the illustrious great king once in each year.[98] If Barāhāśrama be not the name of a place, the term may refer to the worship of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of Varāha

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i.e. Primeval Boar. In the Old-Javanese text *Amaramālā*, Viṣṇu has indeed the title of Bhaṭāra. It is not however precluded that the term refers to Śiva and not to Viṣṇu. Indeed, the reference to blue lotuses in line 10 may indicate worship of Bhaṭarī (Durgā) of line 9, as these flowers were specially pleasing to this goddess. Perhaps *caru*-offering was made in some, if not in all, Hindu temples, and clear reference to this occurs in some records.[99] It appears that these temples of gods and goddesses were surrounded by walls, as indeed confirmed by many architectural remains of Central Java, but the zone of their authority beyond the walls is explicitly stated in the inscription of Timbanan Vungkal, 196 Sañjaya (A.D. 613), where we read, in lines 15-16 (partially damaged)[100] :"business transactions within the whole length of the shadow (cast by) the (temple—) wall of the goddess, outside and inside, stretching in a circle.....with a stone-shed, she shall have the sole authority over them all". The name of Uma or Parvatī does not occur in the inscriptions of Central Java, but we find her under the name of Durga, also elaborately designated Durgadevi in some inscriptions. It is noteworthy however that, under this name, she could not extract more than a salutation at the beginning of one inscription or a reference in the curse-formula of four inscriptions in the customary position. More fortunate is however Agastya, also called Agasti, Kalasaja and Kumbhayoni, who not only found a place for himself in the imprecatory formula of the Old-Javanese inscriptions[101] but also a temple, where a grateful king installed an image of the Great Seer in black marble.[102]

It is possible that Śaiva Tantrism was introduced in Java in the 8th-9th century A.D., but clear indications of it are not to be found in the Central Javanese inscriptions, unless words like Śevamaṇḍala, Siddhayoga, etc., have Tāntrik implications, which such words usually have. It may be recalled that, in the beginning of the 9th century A.D., Kambuja had her Tāntrik teacher Hiranyadāma, who recited the *Vināśika*, the *Nayottara*, the *Sammoha* and the *Śiraścheda* from beginning to end at the court of Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-69). Regarding the appearance of a Śaiva monk, the Old-Javanese ***Rāmāyaṇa***,

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which was probably composed in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., throws some welcome light. About Rāvaṇa, who came to steal Sītā[103] in the guise of Śaiva monk, we read in the said work: "He resembled a pure and upright Śaiva monk, virtuous and holy; his head was smoothly shaved, except for a little tuft of hair on the crown. He expected to get a ... bowl of pumpkin to attach to his shoulder-belt. His monkish robe was beatifully red and was dyed with lac. He proceeded to ask for alms."

Buddhism also occupied a very prominent place in the religious life of Central Java, as the archaelogical evidence has already demonstrated. The first Buddhist inscription of Java is the foundation charter of Kalasan, dated A.D. 778.[104] It opens with a laudatory verse inscribed in honour of Tārā, for whom a splendid temple was built by the *gurus* of the Śailendra king after they had persuaded H.M. *dyah* Pañcapaṇa Paṇaṃkaraṇa. A dwelling-place for the monks, who knew the Great Vehicle of Discipline, was also set up. Four years later was issued the inscription of Kelurak,[105] which opens with the adoration to the Three Jewels. It refers to king Indra of the Śailendra dynasty, whose "head was purified with the dust of the lotus-feet of the *guru* of the land of Gauḍi". Apparently this *guru* was Kumāraghoṣa who has been mentioned in a later verse. It was Kumāraghoṣa who installed an image of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of Learning. He was stated to be foremost of the priests and versed in the Vaipulya lore. It may be recalled that the Vaipulya lore or Mahāyānasūtras provided the source, from which many quotations and references occur in Candrakīrtti's commentary on the Mādhyamika-kārikā of Nāgārjuna. In A.D. 792 was inscribed the Buddhist inscription of Ratu Baka, a very fragmentary but important record from the period of Śailendra hegemony in Central Java. As I understand the record, the first verse refers to a (Buddhist) cave, which was sombre with the meditation (of pious men) and was "not ruffled by the strong winds of popular cult". The following ślokas pay eulogy to the disciples of the teacher "who has attained the purity of (spiritual) voidness" and is "like an

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ocean", who has attained Buddhahood. In the closing part of the inscription which constitutes the most important section of the record, reference has been made to the foundation of Abhayagirivihāra ("Abhayagirivihāraḥ Karitaḥ siṃhalānāṃ") in the prosperous kingdom of the Śailendra king Samarottuṅga.[106] The Ratu Baka inscription betrays, like other Śailendra records from Central Java, a Mahāyānist character. The same Sailendra king is referred to in an inscription of Kayumvungan dating from A.D. 824.[107] It is a bilingual inscription, one of the rarest things in Java, of which the first part is written in Sanskrit and the second part in Old-Javanese. The Sanskrit part opens with an eulogy to "the hero of immeasurable might, seated in the great vajrāsana on the lofty hill." This may possibly refer, as already stated above, to the image of the Great Enlightened One in vajrāsana posture on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur, which was also fashioned out of a hill. If so, the Barabudur stūpa must have been completed by A.D. 824. The interest of the inscription also lies in another part of it. It records that the daughter of Samarottuṅga, called Prāmodavardhanī, constructed a temple called Veṇuvana, which would naturally remind one of its more famous counterpart near Rājagṛha in Bihar. The inscription breathes the spirit of Mahāyāna in every line, even as in the Plaosan inscription,[108] which may be dated at the close of the eighth century A.D. It was obviously a foundation-charter recording the establishment of a vihāra in 714 Śaka in the reign of a Śailendra king whose name ended in a mutilated verse with Dharmatungga. It states in the 14th verse : "By (*gurus ?*) who continually arrived from the Gurjara-country, bowed by the burden of the devotion to the Buddhas..... a Jina-temple is worshipped". This Gurjara-country may be the kingdom of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and not necessarily Gujerat. The Śailendra inscriptions discovered in Java indicate the close connexion the Śailendra monarchs maintained with Ceylon, Gurjaradeśa and Pāla-Bengal. From the mainland of India comes the Nalanda inscription,[109] which tells us that king. Balaputradeva, ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa, had caused to be built, in the 39th year of the reign of King Devapāladeva of Bengal

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c. A.D. 849), a vihāra at Nāladā and, at his request, the Pāla-monarch has pleased to donate 5 villages for the maintenance of the vihāra. This vihāra must have been built for the benefit of the monks and students who came from Suvarṇadvīpa. If the number of such visitors was not large, there would not have been any necessity to build such a vihāra.

The Mahāyāna Buddhism firmly established by the Sailendras in Java did not disappear after them. We do not have any full-fledged Buddhist inscription in Central Java, after Plaosan and Kayumvungan, but in A.D. 860 were issued the Copper-plates of Kañcana, which were however found from Geḍangan in the residency of Surabaya in East-Java. In spite of the comparatively small number of Buddhist inscriptions, the religion did not fail to make a permanent impact on Javanese life, and eventually almost rivalled Śaivism in its popularity, leading to the growth of the powerful Śiva-Buddha cult. The inscription of Kañcana, to which reference has been made above, is one of the lengthiest inscriptions of Java. It records the grant of a hereditary freehold for the royal preceptor (*guru pangajyan*) of Bodhimimba, "who was kṣatriya by descent, Buddhist by profession" and devoted to Vairocana. Mention has been made here of the foundation of a temple (*dharmmaprasada*) with a Buddhist image. Reference to vihāras i.e. Buddhist temple and cloister is also found in subsequent charters from Central Java, but very little information can be deduced from them. In the copper-plate of Palepangan (Barabudur),[110] A.D. 906, mention has been made of the vihāra of Pahai, but we know very little else about it. Similarly, the stone of Taji Gunung,[111] dated in the Sañjaya year 194 (= A.D. 910), begins with a salutation to Śiva and Buddha. It does not otherwise speak of Buddhism as such. It would thus appear that the inscriptions of Central Java are not a proper index of the importance which Buddhism enjoyed in the life of the people of Central Java, as the Buddhist structures and images and the *Sang hyamg kamahāyānikan* would tend to demonstrate.

Regarding the festival time for religious ceremonies in Central Java, the inscriptions themselves throw some side-

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light. We thus learn that there were not only festival-months at different times of the year, but also special occasions when religious ceremonies were performed by the people on individual and corporate basis. We learn from an inscription[112] that, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on March 19, A.D. 843, the *ḍang hyang guru* named Mahā presented a silver umbrella to the god of the freehold. On another occasion, in the month of Srāvaṇa, 826 Saka (= 904 A.D.)[113] another *ḍang hyang guru* called Sivita purified his body and went away with all his wives and two daughters. Kern has found in the inscription an instance of self immolation, but I do not share his view. Instances of such personal devotion on special occasions are however rare. We know more about corporate religious festivities, though those are by no means adequate. Elsewhere we have drawn attention to religious ceremonies connected with the foundation of a freehold when men and women, old and young, participated. Examples of other kinds can also be gleaned from the inscriptions. It has been stated, for instance, in the copper-plates of Kvak I, A.D. 879[114] that the "duty to the king (shall consist) in the making of flower baskets at Pastika on every equinox during the months of Caitra and Asuji". In the Copper-plates of Kañcana, referred to above, it has been recorded that the image of Buddha in this freehold was to be worshipped in each Kartika. Besides, silver was to be brought, alone with other necessaries, at the place of the purificatory rites, on the occasion of each full Moon in the month of Āṣāḍha. No other Buddhist festivities have been described in the charters of Central Java on recurrent annual, biennial or triennial basis. Some details are however available about certain Hindu festivals of Central Java. We learn from the copper-plate of Pintang Mas, dated A.D. 878,[115] that the worship of godHaricandana, which comes once in three years, was falling into disuse. It was therefore ordained that this deity, whose identity, in spite of Poerbatjaraka's attempt to equate him with Agastya, is uncertain, should be worshipped with 1 tahil of rice and fruits, in the month of Margaśira. The record also enjoins upon the people to make ricecone (*anna-liṅga*) for the worship of god

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Brahmā, who may here be either the first member of the Hindu Trinity or the god of Fire. In any case, this arrangement did not bear much fruit, because, it appears from the inscription of Vintang Mas (B), dated A.D. 919,[116] that king Dakṣa, on certain representations made to him, was forced to intervene in the matter and ask : "What is the reason that the favour of the deceased king (*devatā*) of Pastika to the sacred temple of Vintang Mas has been modified with the consequence that the royal obligations to god Haricandana once in three years has been suspended ? " Julung festivities have also been referred to in a couple of inscriptions. I do not know the nature and content of this festival, but it does not refer to a *vuku*, it is worth examining whether this can be brought in connexion with the *jhulan*-festival of India. In any case, a freehold, which has the suspiciously Buddhist name of Kamūlan, was asked to present flowers to the mapatihs on each julung, probably in consequence of the favour it had received from the patihs.[117] The Copper-plate of Kubukubu Bhadri[118] also refers to the presentation of *caru* on each julung. Arrangement for the presentation of flowers and flower-baskets has also been referred to in some charters. In the Copperplates of Taji, A,D. 901, [119] reference has been made to the Royal Temple at Raja, where the duty of the king consisted in the making (and presentation) of flower-baskets each year and the giving of gold 2 kupang to buy frankincense. It seems that the flower-baskets were to be presented in Caitra while gold had to be offered in the month of Asuji. Another inscription[120] tells us that worship in each full Moon in the month of Bhādra had to be performed by the rāmantas at the dharma pangasthūlan. It was probably a funerary temple, where a deified being was perhaps worshipped. The month of Māgha had also its festivals, because, in A.D. 906,[121] tributes of silver were paid and sacrifices for the Bhaṭāra (deity) consisted of goats.

The *saji*-offerings for the deities at the time of the foundation of freeholds included both Indian and Indonesian elements. In OJO, CI.I, for instance, the Hindu elements consisted

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definitely of argha (Skt. *arghya*, perhaps corresponding to 'water for washing feet', as described elsewhere),[122] gandha, dhūpa, puṣpa, aksata (unbroken rice) and perhaps *veḍus prāṇa* or goat while the Indonesian elements were not less than 24. The number of Hindu accessories would not be large even if we include the gift of cloths and gold or silver and cooking pots as parts of the Hindu ritual. No Hindu would however present buffalo-heads and fowls in a religious ceremony. These are often presented, along with other native accessories, and described in pure Javanese terms. Here then the Hindu and the indigenous systems have been inextricably mixed up. It is not easy to explain why the foundation caremonies present a mixed pattern of Hindu and Indonesian rituals, while worship under purely Indian ritualism has been found to exist, as the *sūryaśevana* and other *mantras* testify. If a guess can be hazarded, the mixture of rituals in the foundation-ceremany is due to the *susu-kulumpang*, which outwardly looked like a liṅga, but was in reality a descendant and representative of the prehistoric menhir. Obviously, it had to be pacified and worshipped with Indonesian accessories, to which Indian elements were added, as Indian gods were also invoked. The spirits of ancestors, who used to descend on the pre-Hindu menhirs, descended on the *susu-hulumpangs*, and their traces have been left over in the curse-formulae for the protection of the freehold and, in some cases, of the kingdom. Thus, we read in the imprecatory formula of the Copper-plates of Matyasih I, A.D. 907:[123] "...You all (gods): Protect me now (and) those who are formless (?) in the light, those who are incarnate, and (those) dead (and) deified beings of earlier times, who have lived in villages, erected (?) temples, built *kratons*, made dwelling houses with *galagah*-reeds, arranged the fight of (cocks and boars) in the foundation-regions, arrived in villages like demigods (gana kadi) rushing through the ways of the firmament; You defied beings of earlier times from Meḍang, from Poh Pitu...(and the persons) remaining outside those who rush through the ways of the firmament...all! Defend the fixity of it (i.e. the freehold)."

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These curses were uttered immediately after the *susu-kulumpang* was worshipped with mixed accessories of Hindu and Indonesian origin. So, both in worship and in invocation, they present a composite pattern.

The incriptions speak of various kinds of religious establishments, such as prasada, dharma, sima kabikuan. dharmasrama, dharma sima, prasada kabhaktyan, dharma kamūlan, etc. An inscription from Kelagen dated A,D. 1037 gives a list of several types of dharmas or religious foundations, to use a safe term, such as sīma parasīma, [124] kala, kalagyan,[125] thani jumput,[126] vihara śala,[127] kamulan or dharma kamulan,[128] dharma parhyangan,[129] parapatapan,[130] etc. As in the case of such institutions from Central Java, the distinction among these religious establishments is not even fairly known. There is no doubt however that these religious institutions were actively engaged in their respective field of work. It is also obvious that since these names occur in a list there must have existed differences, not known to us, among these institutions.

If we now wish to make deeper acquaintance with East-Javanese inscriptions bearing on religion, positive references would be hardly commensurate with the number of inscriptions discovered, because we do not know, in many cases, whether the Bhaṭaras in the charters of East-Java are to apply to deified beings, Śiva, Buddha or other gods. To the contemporaries, these were so obvious that they hardly needed any further specification. Keeping this uncertainty in the background of our mind, we may recall that Bhaṭāras have been worshipped in many religious foundations of East Java. A Bhaṭāra of Pangavan and of Hemad,[131] as of Valaṇḍit, has been referred to in a record from A.D. 929. In the last-mentioned place, his worship was celebrated every year.[132] In the same year, another record was issued, and this describes the arrangement done to meet the expenses for the worship of the Bhaṭāra at the Patapan in Tīrtha.[133] We also come to learn of another Bhaṭāra at the dharma of Śri Jayāmṛta from a record of A.D. 935.[134] Permanent arrangement for the daily worship of a Bhaṭāra was confirmed in a charter, whose

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date might be A.D. 943.[135] If the name of the Siddhayoga be any indication, the daily worship of the Bhaṭāra at the prasāda kabhaktyan temple possibly referred to Śiva-worship in Tāntrik style, but this is by no means certain.[136] Prasāda kabhaktyan seems to be a popular place of worship for the united body of the *bhaktas* or devotees for worshipping their Bhaṭāra, be he a deified clan-ancestor or a Hindu deity. In a record from Surabaya, it has been stated that the Bhaṭāra of the prasāda kabhaktyan at Pangurumbigyan received the worship of the votaries.[137] A Śaiva-foundation at Tajung seems to be referred to in a record from A.D. 935.[138] Clear references to Siva are not however absent in all cases. The Copper-plates of Malang, dated A.D. 943, begins with "oṃkārāya namaśśivāya"[139] and the charter from Keboan Pasar from the year 1042 A.D. ends with "namaśśivāya".[140]

Buddhist foundations and deities have also been referrred to in the inscriptions of East-Java. A śīma kabikuān, apparently a Buddhist cloister under a freehold tenure existed at Poh rintang in A.D. 929.[141] Similarly, a freehold for the dharma kamulan at Paraḍah was set up in A.D. 943 and arrangement was made for the offerings of *caru* there. It seems to be a Buddhist foundation, but the arrangement for *caru, mamuja isang hyang brahma* (i.e. worship of the sacred Brahmā) and the appearance of other Hindu deities in this charter does not entirely rule out other possibilites, though, in view of the syncretic character of old-Javanese religion this need not be a serious objection.[142] The copper-plate of Travulan, dated A.D. 966,[143] opens with a salutation to Sarva Buddha (all the Buddhas) and refers to the Revered One of Nairañjanā, a river-name of India famous in Buddhist scriptures. It may also be recalled that Siṇḍok who was identified with Haridevatā in his lifetime had a daughter called Srī Iśānatungavijayā, who has been described in the so-called Calcutta Stone Inscription of Airlangga as Sugatapakṣasahā, and this seems to indicate a predilection for Buddhism. A Dharma Gandhakuṭi at Kambang Śrī has also been referred to in a record from A.D. 1042, but it also refers to Bhaṭāra Prājapati and offers homage to Siva and Brāhmaṇa.

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It seems that either on account of increase in the number of Śaivite devotees or for more efficient administration of the principal religious denominations, it was found necessary to appoint dharmmādhyakṣa ring kaśaivan and dharmmādhyakṣa ring kasogatan i.e. superintendent of the Saiva denomination (lit. Śaivadom) and the superintendent of the Buddhist denominations (Buddhadom).[145] It is not impossible that there was originally only one superintendent, that of the Śaivas, who looked after both the Śaiva and the buddhist denominations and establishments. A superintendent of the Śaivite denominations is referred to in a record from A.D. 1270, but superintendents öf both the denominations appear together in A.D. 1294.[146] Fuller descriptions of their acivities can be gleaned from the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* of A.D, 1365.[147] The double functions of the dharmādhyakṣa covered, it seems from the inscription of Travulan, dated A.D.1358,[148] that he had, firstly, the duty of protecting the Brāhmaṇas and the learned and, secondly, the charge of supervision of the Dharma.[149] These superintendents were always learned men. It maybe recalled that both the superintendents have been described in a charter issued during the reign of Hayam Vuruk[150] as having completed the study of the nyāya-śāstra, grammar etc. while pangkur i padelegan, another ·ecclesiastical officer has been specifically described as having completed the study of the Buddhist logic and grammar. The dharmmādhykṣas had necessarily to be venerable learned men, because they had to perform some works of juridical nature.[151] Besides, there were also Śaivite and Buddhist upapattis (assessors-at-law) whose duties and functions have been described by Bosch[152] and Van Naerssen.[153] Some other *ḍang ācāryas* of the time, who were pamegets, have also been described as versed in *nyāya* and grammar, but *ḍang ācārya* Visvanātha has been described as having completed the study of sāngkya, which, in the context of several persons described before and after him as versed in Nyāya-Philosophy seems to me to stand for saṃkhya-philosophy, and not the science of numbers.[154] The grammar referred to above may be the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, which is specifically referred to in copper-plate no. 3 of Sekar, Bajanegara.[155] This grammar

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was written by Candragomin of Bengal.[156] As the subjects studied by these august personages are not identical in all cases, it may be presumed that they were really proficient in all these subjects. It may be observed in this connexion that since *Nyāya*-philosophy was more assiduously studied in contemporary Bengal, this may indicate, along with the evidence of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and Proto-Bengali scripts on contemporary images of East Java the continuation of Bengal's cultural contact with Java.

Among the Śaivas, there were various sects, as we have described elsewhere, but the inscriptions of East-Java have specifically referred to the Bhairavapakṣa i.e. the sect of the Bhairavas and the Sorapakṣa i.e. the sect of the sect of the Soras or Sauras. By the latter term, some have understood the Sect of the Siddhāntas , others the Sun-worshippers. In the inscriptions of Central Java, the word Bhairava has been mentioned only once as the name of a person, but never as a religious sect. Bhairava, with his female Śakti Bhairavī; represented a phase in Śaiva Tāntrism. In Java, it had already gained importance in the 12th century A.D., because as early as A.D. 1135 an inscription of king Jayabhaya refers to an important official who was a follower of Bhairava (Bhairava mā(r)gānugaman).[157] It further appears from the inscription of Sekar[158] that, of the five Śaivite Pamegets, three belonged to the Bhairava sect[159] and two to the Siddhānta sect. It is not unlikely that these five Śaivite sects represent the subdivision of the Bhairava and Siddhāntapakṣas of the inscriptions. If this surmise be correct, it would appear that these five Śaiva sects were presided over by five Śaiva Pamget officers, viz. Pamget i tirvan, kaṇḍamuhi, manghuri, jambi and pamvatan while two Buddhist sects.....we can not specify them satisfactorily.....were looked after by the pamgets kaṇḍangan atuha and kaṇḍangan rare. All these pamgets seem to have constituted the *saptopapatti*,[160] elsewhere called *dharmmopapatti samudaya* i.e. all the *dharmmopapattis*.[161] It is not unlikely that the five Śaivite sects referred to above may be the *(A)lepaka, Cānaka, Ratnahara, Śambhn* and *Śivapakśa*,[162] but this this is not certain, because we know from a study of

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Goris,[163] made from an analysis of ten texts that there were the following sects (1) Śaiva or Siddhānta, sometimes called Śaiva-Siddhānta (2) Pāśupata (3) Bhairava (4) Vaiṣṇava (5) Bauddha or Saugata (6) Brāhmaṇa (or Brāḥmāṇa) (7) Ṛṣi. We do not know if the Śaiva-Siddhānta, Pāśupata and Bhairava sects can be resolved into the five sects referred to above. A yogita sect is also known, but its particulars are otherwise unknown.

There is hardly any doubt that this phase of the East-Javanese Śaivism represented Tāntrism. It may by recalled that the Śaiva Tantras of the *āgama*-type represented the Rudra-Sadāśiva tradition, but pure Śaivism, which has subsisted vigorously up to the present time, lost some of its lustre on account of the growth of Tāntrism, which laid greater stress on Śaktism. This Śaktism, which wanted more to control the forces of Nature than to attain salvation, had established itself firmly in India by the tenth century A.D., as the Tāntrik Yāmala-literature would testify. Later Tāntrik works became thoroughly saturated with Śakti ideas and assimilated cults of heterogeneous origin. Bhairava, with his female Śakti Bhairavī, represented a phase in this Śaiva Tāntrism. It is difficult to assign any date to the introduction of Śakti-element into the Tāntrik cult of Java, but if we remember that Indian elements appear in Java as soon as they are found in the mainland of India one may recall the evidence of palaeography in this respect it seems reasonable to hold that Śaktism was established in Java during the 10th-11th century A.D. The Śakti worship, specially in its vāmācāra-aspect i.e. the cult of the left hand, gradually gained the upperhand. Its object was the gaining of supernatural power, by incantations, imprecations, magic and common sorcery, and other means. In developed Tāntrik Śaktism, the śāstras enjoin upon the devotees the use of the pañcamakāra, which involves the superlative enjoyment of the five m's viz. *madya* (wine), *māṃsa* (meat), *matsya* (fish), *mudrā* (various postures) and *maithuna* (sexual intercourse). The proceedings terminate in the carnal copulation of the male and female worshipper on jabjum position, when the Bhairava and the Bhairavī, the Śiva and the Śakti, the macrocosm and the microcosm are united

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together in ritualistic sexual embrace. In the supreme moment of ecstacy, which was originally deemed to be passionless but was perhaps rarely so, the Bhairava and the Bhairavī, the male and the female worshippers were deemed to be identified with Śiva and his Śakti. This is the Śrīcakra, "the holy circle" or the pūrṇābhiṣeka or the complete consecration.[164]

The Buddhist Kālacakrayāna, which seems to have developed in Bengal towards the end of the Pāla-period,[165] was propagated in Napal and in the island around Java. Late vestiges of this Kālacakrayāna have been found both in Java and Sumatra. The famous Amoghapāśa statue, which was brought to Sumatra in A.D. 1286, represented an important stage in the development of Kālacakrayāna. King Kṛtanagara of Java (A.D. 1268-92) and king Ādityavarman of Sumatra (A.D. 1347-75) were special adepts in this cult. The former has been described as having mastered the *Subhūtitantra*, a work ascribed to Subhūti, disciple of Buddha. Krom is of opinion that this book may be the same as *Sang hyang tantra vajradhātu subhūti* composed during the time of king Siṇḍok.[166] Whether this view be correct or not, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton* leave no room for doubt that the king was a votary of the kālacakrayāna, which freely indulged in pañcamakāra and participate in the sādhanacakra. Moens has identified a Bhairava-image as a representation of the king. If this be so, it would indicate the horrible nature of the religion practised by king Kṛtanagara. R.C. Majumdar has described the image thus[167]: "The image is a terrible and repulsive one, a naked corpulent figure decorated with human skulls all over his body, dancing on a seat made up of or supported by human skulls. It has protruding teeth and bulging eyes, and holds in his four hands a trident, dagger, damaru and an inverted human skull forming a bowl of wine. "Even if we do not accept the identification of this image, as proposed by Moens, it still faithfully reflects the horrible nature of the religious practices of the time. King Ādityavarman of Sumatra was also a votary of kālacakrayāna in its most degenerate form. As he had served Java in various capacities as a civil servant and was also connected with the royal family, it seems

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that Ādityavarman had been attracted towards the Bhairava-cult even before he became the king of Malayu in Sumatra. It seems from a study of the Suroasa inscription,[168] dated A.D. 1375, that the king indulged in Kāpālika practices, which involved human sacrifices. Such sacrifices were offered even during the 19th century in India and early traces of them are to be found in well-known literary works like the *Mālatīmādhava*,[169] the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[170] the *Hitopadeśa*,[171] etc. The Suroasa inscription indicates that the king assumed the title Kṣetrajña Viśeṣadharaṇī after a Bhairava-consecration, in which human sacrifice was made in the cremation-ground. Seated on a corpse, he drank the blood of the victim as it was being consumed by fire.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIETY AND RELIGION OF BALI

The fact that Hindusim and Buddhism are still living religions in the island of Bali and some parts of Lombok invests the study of the subject with a special significance. Not to speak of ancient and medieval times, even now modern Balinese authors who write on religious philosophy or ethics worship, meditation and yoga exercises couch their works in the Hinduistic vein, quoting scriptures and yerses in Sanskrit. The Balinese believe themselves to be the descendants of the Aryans who came from Jambudvīpa to liberate the island from the brutal tyranny of the demon-king Mayadānava. These Aryans were considered as divine beings or as incarnation of the gods.[1] The Hinduism is governing with it, Buddhism are therefore matters of living faith in terms of mythology, tradition and history.

Indeed, the Hindu caste system and the Indian religions cannot be studied properly anywhere else in Indonesia, except in the island of Bali and, to a certain extent, Lombok where these institutions have persisted up to the present time with of course, some novel features in them. Another interesting thing to be observed in this connexion is the fact that, while it has introduced some new elements into the Hinduism of the island, it has also retained some old features dimmed or lost in India. Indeed, various kinds of mudrās which went with the Indian Brāhmaṇas to Bali have now become dull and meaningless movement of fingers in India, as I have occasionally noticed from personal observations, but they have still retained their vitality and primary importance in the rituals of the Balinese priests. The Hindus now constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of Bali. According to the census of 1930,[2] which provides the latest figures of the ethno-religious breakdown of the Balinese population, the Balinese Hindus constitute over 97% of the population. It appears from the archaeological and Chinese data that Indian

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culture was introduced into Bali several centuries before its earliest inscription appears in 882 A.D. Indian influences greatly fashioned the early culture of Bali, remodelled its court-life on the Indian pattern, moulded its religious life in its various ramifications, besides leaving its impact on other aspects of Balinese life.

The Balinese had however an indigenous culture from the earliest period. As history is a moving phenomenon, the earliest culture of the people has largely disappeared or put on new shapes. In spite of these difficulties, faint glimpse of a pre-Hindu culture can be caught in the remote areas of Bali. Grader[3] believes that a side-view of the older tribal organisation of the people into phratries can be found in the classification of the members of the desa in the mountain village of Madenan. The initiation rites of the pre-Hindu period seem to be reflected in the customs of Tenganan Pegeringsingan.[4] The kettle-drums from the bronze-age, specially the big-sized (about the height of a man) 'Moon' kettle-drum in Pura Penataran Sasih at Pejeng also reverts to the pre-Hindu cultural heritage of the people of Bali.[5] At this distance of time, it is difficult to analyse the various elements in the ancient indigenous and Indian (later also Indo-Javanese) cultural milieu operating in Bali from early historical times. It is even more difficult to distinguish between the similar-looking Hindu-Balinese and Hindu-Javanese factors. Dutch scholars have, however, enumerated some pre-Hindu indigenous cultural elements as the heritage of the Balinese before they came in contact with the Indians. These include[6] wet-rice cultivation along with meticulous organisation for the same ; the breeding of game-cocks and cockfights, small constructions with wood, dyeing, weaving and craft work with iron and bronze folk music with gamelan selunding (with iron keys) and bamboo orchestra (angklung). together with temple dances by females and war-dances by men ; the language ; and the system of family, village and regional temples.

Broadly speaking, these items represent the first phase of a civilisation, which had already taken a good start. It re-

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presents a peasant culture, which produced its own requirements for daily agricultural and household pursuits. The daily life of the people was also enlivened by cock-fights, dancing of men and women to the accompaniment of music. The world of Spirits was also propitiated by the dancing in trance of the female-folk.

The Balinese people, with this culture as their heritage, came in contact with the Indians at the dawn of their history, and admitted certain elements in their culture from the incoming Indians. The first important thing to be adopted by the people was perhaps the Central authority of monarchy, which represented divine authority on earth. The Brahmin Padaṇḍa came to fortify the position of the king, both by rituals and wherever possible by pushing back the genealogy of the kings to Indian heroes. The Brahmin and the Buddhist padaṇḍas brought in their train their religious writings in palm-leaf Manuscripts, which were copied in lontars, and mystical speculation. Religious ceremonies involved expert knowledge of Hindu (or Hindu-Javanese) calendar. The acceptance of Indian culture led to the enrichment of the Balinese vocabulury, including the vocabularies of courtesy. Art and architecture got a start and shadow-plays were introduced through the agency of Java. The Balinese Society was modelled upon the Indian caste-system (trivangsa) and the burning of widows became customary in the higher circles of the Society. Hindu ways of cremations were also introduced.

According to competent scholars, some elements in the religious life of a Hindu Balinese may be traced back to a pre-Hindu past. These may be put forward in the language of A.N.J. Thomassen a Thuessink van der Hoop[7] :

"It is very remarkable that the so-called temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship, for instance the Sun-god Sūrya in the form of a statue, representing a man sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Sūrya, into which the godhead is supposed to descend in an invisible form,

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when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the templs is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.

In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples ; they are destined for Sūrya the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till today the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.

Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended on to the megaliths, for example on to the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats and at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, still exist for example at Gelgel, are the pre-historical forerunners of the present-day "bale-agung".

In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher.....On Bali several places are found, consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving."

Van der Hoop has luminously described the worship of formless gods and ancestors in open spaces surrounded by walls. This may very well date from the pre-Hindu period, but in view of the close contact between India and Bali in all major spheres of life one problem has to be answered in full before we can accept the viewpoint of Van der Hoop without any mental reservation. I should like to formulate the problem thus : Since some of the *Jātakas*, and the *Arthaśāstra* of

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Kauṭilya are dated from C. 300 B.C. and refer to commercial intercourse with Suvarṇabhūmi and some other islands of the Southern Seas and since image-worship was yet hardly in vogue in India, is it impossible to think, on this ground and on theoretical considerations, that the worship of formless Hindu gods and goddesses was taken by the Hindus to Bali before the development of image-worship in India, when neither the Gandhāra nor the Amarāvatī-School of Art had yet developed? As the worship of icons was a regular feature in Hindu Java, the worship of formless divinities of the Hindu Pantheon in Bali indicates direct influence from India at a time when the Hindus had not yet started worshipping images. The Balinese people had become so accustomed to this method of worship that even when Paurāṇic Hinduism was introduced in Bali several centuries later on, it could not change the earlier method of worship. The Paurāṇic gods and goddesses therefore found their shelter mainly in the niches of the temples, but the rural altars remained mainly reserved for the formless divinities. If this be so, it would appear that two streams of religion, Hindu and Indonesian, one worshipping a formless divinity and the other a formless ancestor, ran parallel and ultimately converged on the same pedestal. The ideas expressed above should however be treated as mere suggestion, which would require deeper probe than I can afford at present. Whatever that may be, when the chieftains of Bali became Hinduized, the indigenous society had to conform to the Indian caste-system, religion and jurisprudence, as far as practicable. Unfortunately, the data on ancient Balinese life, as in Java and elsewhere, have emanated mainly from the royal or aristocratic circles, largely leaving the common man outside the purview of their interest. The data bearing on the life of the common man are therefore very inadequate. The society had an agrarian base with a tribal organisation, on which the incoming Hinduism and Buddhism were foisted. The Hinduized society had accordingly to be classified after the Indian pattern, with Brahmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas (called Vesyas) and Śūdras, of whom the first three came to be known as Trivangsa (trivaṃśa). One is a

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Brahmin by birth. After ordination he becomes a Padaṇḍa, a Sūrya,[8] The padaṇḍas or priests of Bali, whether belonging to the class of Śaiva or Buddhists, claim descent from the caste of Brahmins, who may have been and possibly are the descendants of the Indian priests who had come to Bali and attached themselves to the princely courts. Even now, they are the *guru* or mentors of the princes, their *purohita* or priest and *petirtaan* or the source of their holy water. A novice in priesthood has to perform exacting duties, study hard and live in rectitude, both in thought and deed, before he can be initiated (*madikṣā*) into padaṇḍahood, but once he has entered the magic-circle it is almost impossible to remove him from his order, and he becomes identified with god. The Brahmins played, until quite recently, a very prominent part in the judicial system of Bali, as inscriptions and other records testify. The Balinese priests employ, as would appear from a study of their *mantras*, the same kind of implements for their rituals as have been in use in India from times immemorial, such as hand bell, holy water, censer, oil lamp, rosary, chalice etc. The mudras (finger-postures) in Bali seem to have retaincd their earlier intricacies, which have been, by and large, lost in India. Non-religious popular ceremonies are no doubt performed by the non-padaṇḍa and non-Brahmin priests called pemangkus, but the Śaivite and the Buddhist padaṇḍas, on account of their descent, training and identity with god-heads dominate the cultural and religious life of Bali. Hooykaas has stated that there is in existence a group of non-Brahmins, and even non-trivangsa priests who, after being ordained by a Śaiva or Buddhist padaṇḍa are entitled to be addressed as and referred to as reṣi dukuḥ and who are empowered to officiate on behalf of their own class and the whole of the 93 % of the non-trivangsa (jaba) population of Bali. There is also another class of non-trivangsa priest who are customarily called Sengguhu, who expect to be addressed as reṣi bhujangga.[9]

The Brahmins of Bali are divided into two main groups, viz. Śiva and Buda, and the former is again subdivided into five classes, viz. kemenuh, keniten, mas, manuba and petapan.

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The Brahmins use the title Ida for the males and Idaju for the females. The Balinese Brahmin Buddhist priests constitute a special kind of Priests. C. Hooykaas has stated that they did not number more than 17 in 1959 all over Bali and the neighbouring Lombok and that they were far outnumbered by their Śaivite colleagues, not to speak of by the non-Brahmin pamangku, part-time temple or village priests, who may number thousands.[10] Regarding the performance of rituals. Hooykaas has observed that, before officiating the Buddhist Brahmin has to purify himself both outwardly and inwardly ; he begins his ritual by squatting facing the East before his accessories, such as ghaṇṭa[11] (bell), vajra (thunderbolt), dhūpa (incense), dīpa (lamp), ś(i)vamba (waterpot), bīja or akṣata (unbroken rice grains), puṣpa (flowers). He is clad in two plain white rectangular pieces of cloth, which have to be unsewn, and this practice was not only reflected in the earliest Buddhist sculptures of India but was also required in Hindu religious ceremonies even in the days of the *gṛhyasūtras*. While conducting the rituals, the Buddhist Brahmin has to keep himself bareheaded. The Śaivite priest has, however, to keep his hair in a knot, with a flower adorning it, while the Buddhist Brahmin cuts his hair short on the neck and do not therefore bind the hair in a knot. Occasionally, he puts on bracelets, ear-ornaments, gaṇitri (a rosary of 108 beads) and bhava (mitre), provided this is not considered to belong to the category of niṣṭa, i.e, lowest or usual class. This is done in course of the ritual, accompanied by appropriate *mantras* and *mudrās*.

The caste of Kṣatriyas, which ranks lower than the Brahmins in public esteem, is also subdivided into five classes and they use the title Deva for the male and desak for the female names.

Under the Vaiśya caste, the principal group is the Arias. The Arias are further subdivided into several groups, using the title gusti for the males and gusti-aju for the females. The princes of Bali belong to the Kṣatriya or Vaiśya caste.

The Śūdras or Kaulas, as they are known in Bali, are not untouchables, but they are relegated to the position of Śūdras

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for committing certain offence against certain specified norms of good conduct.

Intermarriage is not unknown, but while men may marry women of lower birth, women must always marry men of equal or higher birth.[11] The priestesses may however marry only priests. Regarding early marriage-custom, the *History of the Sung Dynasty* (960-1279 A.D.) tells us :[12] "It is not the custom to use match-makers in contracting a marriage : some gold is paid to the relations of the girl and then she is married."

There were also slaves in Bali, and a brisk slave-trade flourished in Bali, even during the 19th century.

The jurisprudence of ancient Java and Bali was modelled on that of India, specially on the *Manusaṃhitā*, as described earlier, and the higher castes enjoyed greater immunity from the penal clauses of law, according to their status in the caste hierachy. In Hinduized areas; the Indian laws prevailed, but outside this zone the Indonesian *adat* or customary law prevailed.

Many of the gods described in literature and fashioned in sculptural representations in Java and Bali are alive inBalinese theology and everyday life. The highest mountain of Bali is Gunung Agung (10300 ft) and its deities are Śiva and Sūrya. The prominence of Śiva in Bali is a recognised feature of Balinese life and is reflected in everyday practice. Old edicts speak of Hindu and Buddhist priests and some of the rock-hewn cloisters proclaim the existence of ascetics, of which traces are to be found in inscriptions and literature. Śaivite monasteries also exist. The big stone altar (Saggar agung) for the Hindu Trimūrti in the central temple of Pura Besuki, the greatest of all Balinese temples has Śiva in the centre. Viṣṇu and Brahmā on two other sides proclaim the abiding influence of Hinduism in Bali. There is also in each desa a village sanctuary or house-temple where the Padmāsana is the guest-seat for Sūrya, the Sun-god, who is identified in Bali with Bhaṭāra Śiva. Though certain phases of Balinese religion link them up with pre-Paurāṇic Hindu religion, ancient

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Indonesian and modern Balinese religion mainly bear the stamp of Paurāṇic Hindu religion. The impact of this religion on Balinese sacred literature and sculpture was tremendous. Indeep, all known gods of any importance in the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon of India had their heyday in Bali.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SIVA-BUDDHA CULT IN INDIA IN ITS HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The migration of Buddhism to the lands of South-East Asia, including Indonesia, is a phenomenon of the highest importance, as it not only powerfully affected the life and thought of the vast concourse of humanity living in this region, but is even now a living and dynamic force in a large sector of continental South-East Asia. Hinduism now flourishes only in limited areas of Indonesia, but it is a spent force in other places of South-East Asia, though vestiges of its past grandeur discernible in all important places of this vast terrain.

We do not have any faint idea regarding the religion professed by king Tiao-Pien of Ye-Tiao, even assuming that the place refers to Java-Sumatra. So far as present evidence goes, it appears that the first to appear on the scene of Indonesia was Hinduism, as the inscriptions of Mūlavarman and Pūrṇavarman would demonstrate. It was apparently followed by the spread of Hīnayāna Buddhism of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-school, but the latter had to make room for Mahāyāna. It may be recalled that Fa-hien, on his way to China, had reached in A.D. 414 a country called Ye-P'o-Ti' in the Chinese annals. If Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions may be dated in the middle of the fifth century A.D., and if Ye-P'o-T'i be the same as Java, it is reasonable to hold that Fa-hien set his foot on the kingdom of Pūrṇavarman's father or grandfather, provided they were ruling princes. In this country he saw "various forms of error and Brāhmaṇism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning." The unsatisfactory condition of Buddhism in Indonesia seems to have continued for sometime more, till the arrival of Prince Guṇavarman of Kāśmīr. From a Chinese work compiled in A.D. 519 we learn that the Prince came to Cho-p'o and converted the king and the queen of that country to

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Buddhism, Guṇavarman had translated a work of the Dharmagupta sect of Mūlasarvāstivāda ; we can accordingly postulate that Guṇavarman had propagated the doctrine of Hīnayāna Buddhism, which enjoyed a spell of popularity in some isles of Indonesia.[2] From A.D. 424, when Guṇavarman finally left Cho-P'o, to the time when Ho-ling emerges into the full light of history towards the middle of the seventh century,[3] Hīnayāna Buddhism must have held some sway in some parts of Java. Ho-ling had an importance of its own, because in the 7th century, it was already famous as a centre of Buddhist scholarship. We learn that the Chinese pilgrim Hui-ning en route to India broke journey here in A.D. 664-65 and stayed here for three years. In collaboration with the native scholar Joh-na-poh-t'o-lo, which corresponds to the Sanskrit name Jñanabhadra, he translated here some Buddhist texts, [4] which reveal great divergences from the Māhāyana doctrines,[5] and are accordingly to be closed under the Hīnayāna. It is obvious that Ho-ling had developed as a centre Buddhist studies and that there were competent native scholars to deal with the subject. This Buddhism of Ho-ling and other places of the Archipelago appears to bear the stamp of Hīnayāna, although there were minor exceptions, because there were some people who subscribed to Sammiti, Mahasamghika and Staviranikāya.[6] In this context one can understand why the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa enjoyed such wide popularity in the islands of the Southern Seas.[7] The predominance of Hīnayāna Buddhism gradually wanes and makes room for Mahāyāna Buddhism, which shortly starts on its astonishing career under the Srīvijaya and the Śailendra monarchs.

As part of the Srīvijaya empire, south-eastern Sumatra, with its headquarters at Palembang, came into the limelight of history as one of the main centres of Buddhist learning. I-tsing studied *śabdavidyā* (grammar) here in A.D. 671 and during A.D. 685-689 he was engaged in copying and translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. In one of his trips, I-tsing brought from India 500000 stanzas of the tripiṭaka texts, on which he did considerable work at

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Srīvijaya. The Biographies of Chinese pilgrims to India, as compiled by I-tsing,[8] reveal the interesting fact that many Chinese pilgrims, such as Yun-ki, Ta-tsin, Tcheng-kou, Tao-hong, Fa-lang and others, made prolonged stay in this international centre of Buddhist scholarship, learnt Kouen-louen[9] (a king of archaic Malay or Proto.Malay) and Sanskrit. It is not for nothing that Buddhist scholars and students congregated in Srīvijaya, because Śākyakīrti, one of the seven greatest masters among the contemporaries of I-tsing lived in Śrīvijaya. Eminent Buddhist scholars of India and Indonesia, according to the testimony of I-tsing, were proficient in studying authoritative Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts. as there were so many common links binding the two. One same school, for instance, could subscribe to Mahāyāna in one place and Hīnayāna in another place.[10] This spirit of enlightened scholarship was sedulously encouraged by the University of Nalanda. The Tantrik contents of East India Buddhism, fostered in the Nalanda school of thought and in Pāla-Bengal, reinforced by Buddhist missionaries like Dharmapāla, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Kumāraghoṣa and others from southern, eastern and even western India, powerfully affected Indonesia.

This emergence of Tantrik Buddhism was almost concurrent with the development of Śaiva Tantrism in eastern India and as these constituted the two most important religious systems in contemporary India, both their rivalry and spirit of accommodation gradually led to approximation between the two religions. The religious background was quite favourable for such approximation. It may be recalled that while Bainyagupta of East Bengal (507-8 A.D.), Bhaskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (first half of the 7th century A.D.), Saśaṇka of Karṇasuvarṇa in West Bengal (617 A.D.) and Lokanātha (7th century A.D.) were Śaivas, the Khaḍgas (later part of the 7th and earlier part of the 8th century), the Palas (c. 750-c. 1095 or 1125 A.D.), the Candras (10th-11th century) were Buddhists. The co-existence of these two systems led to an approximation which is clearly discernible in some of the contemporary records of Bengal.

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The same approximation between the two religious systems is discernible in the records of Central Java, but it is most pronounced in the records of eastern Java. Had we substantial literature from the period of political hegemony of Central Java, the point could have been studied in greater details. Even as it is, unimpeachable evidence from the inscription of Central Java tell the same tale. Apart from the construction of the temple of Tārā, a goddess revered by both the Śaiva and Bhuddhist Tāntriks, in A,D. 778, the Kelurak inscription, issued four years later, clearly states in verse 15 : "He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara ; he is full of gods and is praised as Mañjuvāk." The identification of the Buddhist god of Learning with the Hindu Trinity could not have been more complete. These are broad indications of the process of approximation which had already started both in Bengal and Java. If we link up Nālandā-Śrīvijaya-Śailendra-Barabudur set-up with the Canggal-Dinaja-Lara Jonggaang complex, we shall arrive, on theoretical and general considerations, to the 8th and 9th centuries when this religious synthesis was working out. The supposed Buddha on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur on the one hand and the Vukir-hill liṅga of king Sañjaya and the Śiva of Prambanan must have provided the appropriate religious climate for the synthesis and ultimate evolution of the Śiva-Buddha cult. The circumstances must have been complex both in eastern India and Java, but the broad pattern was not perhaps much different. The *guruvāda* of the Śaiva Tāntriks, who could take *guru* or preceptor from any caste not necessarily Brahmins, the casteless Buddhists, and the basically caste-less tribal organisation of the Javanese people which did not yet substantially conform to the rigours of the caste system of India might have provided the matrix for the foundation of the Śiva-Buddha cult. There was another element which facilitated this evolution. The prehistoric menhirs were venerated by the Ur-Indonesian people and their descendants : the inscriptions also testify to the high respect commended by the *Susu-kulumpangs*. When the crafty Brāhmans identified them with the (Śiva-)liṅgas, the

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first great hurdle for the introduction of Śaivism in Java was over. When this liṅga served to be the palladium of the reigning family, its future was assured. The installation of Śiva-liṅga on the Vukir hill in A.D. 732 seems to reflect this phenomenon.

This stream of Śaivism, Tāntrik or otherwise, seems to have flowed to Java from Bengal, even as Tāntrik Buddhism did, It would be interesting to know from which sect of Bengal did the Śaivas of Java derive their inspiration. If we study the Bhagalpur plates of king Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal (c. A.D. 854-908), it would appear that the prevalent form of Śaivism in contemporary Bengal belonged to the Pāśupata-school, which seems to have been founded by Śrīkaṇṭhanātha, author of *Piṅgalāmata*,[13] and Lākulīśa, who might bave been his disciple. The four disciples of Lākulīśa were Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya,[14] who were Pāśupatas and are often mentioned with Patañjali in the imprecatory formulae of the Old-Javanese inscriptions. The sages Kuśika and others were conversant with Pāśupata Yoga, used ashes, wore dress of tree-barks and had matted hair. At the time of Hiuen-tsang, they were naked and used to tie their hair in knots, but other Pāśupatas had red clothing, as represented in the Kādambarī, a work written by Bāṇa, a contemporary of Hiuen-tsang (middle of seventh century).[15] Since the Pañcakuśikas (five kuśikas) make their first appearance in the copper-plates of Kañcana, dated A.D. 860,[16] we may perhaps hold the view that the Pāśupata form of Śaivism, which was the oldest form of sectarian Śaivism of India, came to Central Java from Bengal at some unspecified date before A.D. 860. The exact date can not be determined now, but Kern thought that the Pāśupata sect might bave been present in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when Fa-hien visited Java. It may be recalled that the Chinese traveller had found "heretics and Brahmins" (another translation is : heretical Brahmins) in Java. Kern thought that the use of the term "heretics" in the compound "heretics and Brahmins" by Fa-hien may refer to the sect of the Pāśupatas, because Hiuen-tsang, who often used the compound "heretics and Brahmins", meant, at least once, the

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Pasupata sect by the word "heretics".[17] From the nature of the case, the evidence is unsatisfactory, because apart from the distance of time which separates the two travellers, the status of the Pāśupata sect might have undergone changes during these two and quarter centuries. In the middle of the 7th century A.D., it was already an important sect, because Hiuen-tsang refers to the Pāśupatas 12 times in his travels. It is extremely doubtful if this sect at all flourished in the Pallava tracts and adjoining territories, wherefrom the first influx of Indians to Java-Sumatra seems to have started. Under the circumstances, we can hold the view that the Paśupata sect flourished in Java at least in A.D. 860. Shortly before this date, the Pāla-emperor Devapāladeva (c. 810-850 A.D. had ceased to reign, and his contact with Suvarṇadvīpa has already been established by the Nālandā charter.[18]

Buddhism had already developed a distinct class of literature and mode of sādhanā in the 7th century A.D. Common features developed in Buddhist and Śaiva Tāntrism between the 8th and 10th centuries A.D., though the symbols utilised by each was different. The mystic elements in Buddhist Tāntrism, such as Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna, of which the philosophical background was provided by the yogācāra and the mādhyamika systems of philosophy, went under the generic name of Mantranaya, which was reflected in an Old-Javanese tract from the 9th-10th century. In spite of some common features, the Śaiva and Buddhist Tāntriks used separate symbols to explain their intricate mode of Sādhanā. In this way, the two principal deities, in some of their manifestations, became identical, without, however, losing their separate individuality. If the Buddhism of Barabudur represents the philosophy of the Vajara sect and the Śaivaism of Prambanan that of the Pāśupata sect, the two Tāntrik lords of the two schools must have first fused in Central Java sometime during the ninth century A.D. The Śaivism of Prambanan is sometimes described as belonging to the Śaiva-Siddhānta school, which can be traced at least to the middle of the 9th century A.D., but it is doubtful if it could have been powerful enough to lay the theological matrix of

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the Prambanan-complex. If the extant Śaiva Tāntrik literature of Java be any guide, the special field of activity of the Siddhānta-school was East-Java, perhaps from the 12th century when it became prominent in Southern India. In any case, the development of the Pāśupata and the Śaiva Siddhānta systems from a historical and doctrinal perspective and story of their inter-relation have to be further worked out in India before the problems of Śaiva Tāntrism of Java can be finally cleared up. This seems to be necessary in spite of the remarkable works of some scholars.[19]

Indian Tāntrism, both Buddhist and Śaiva, has laid great stress on the psychic or supernatural power. The Buddhist texts indeed speak of such power involving capacity "to project mind-made image of oneself, to become invisible, to pass through solid things, such as wall to penetrate solid ground as if it were water, to walk on water, to fly through the air, to touch Sun and Moon, to ascend into the higher heavens, etc."[20] Such ideas do not appear to be a late development, because as early as the days of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, Buddha's own disciple Bharadvāja was reported to have risen up into the air miraculously and brought down the begging bowl which was held aloft by a Seṭṭhi.[21] Belief in such supernatural powers is also reflected in Old-Javanese literature. People living in 1365 A.D. in the Majapahitan kingdom believed that the division of the kingdom of Airlangga was effected by "Mahāyānabrata, a past master in Tantra, a Yogi master" called Bharaḍa. He has been described as flying over over the sky, demarcating the boundary with the "water of the jar of the sky".[22] The attainment of supernatural power or the acquisition of different siddhis is also one of the principal objectives of the general run of Śaiva Tāntriks.

The approximation between Śaivism and Buddhism and the identification of the two principal divinities of these two religious systems led as much toleration as, or perhaps greater than that, in India. By the eleventh century A.D., if not earlier, Buddha was adopted into the Hindu pantheon as one of the ten Avataras of Viṣṇu and Jayadeva, the court-poet of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (c. 1179-1205, devoted a beau-

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tiful poem to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in which Buddha was the last, but even then no noteworthy Śiva-temple of India could accommodate both Śiva and Buddha in one and the same place In spite of ideological identification of Śiva and Buddha, no strenuous effort was directed, as in Java and Bali, to translate the ideas in terms of reality. This spirit of toleration is broadly reflected in Old-Javanese literature and inscriptions. The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* says :[23] Buddha tunggal lavan Śiva i.e. Buddha is one with Śiva. The broad spirit of toleration and equation is continued in later records of East Java. This is further revealed, for instance by an inscription of king Airlangga, dated A.D. 1034,[24] which pays equal homage to Mpungku Śaiva-Sogata-Ṛṣi, the same religious denominations which often appear, side by side, in the inscription and literary records of East Java. It may be recalled in this connexion that the accession of king Airlangga to the throne was confirmed with the blessings of the Buddhists, Śaivites and Brāhmaṇical ṛṣis.[25] In consonance with this spirit, the writer of the inscriptions of Keboan Pasar,[26] dated A.D. 1042 offers, at the close of the inscription, salutation not only to Buddha, but also to Śiva, ṛṣi and Brāhmaṇas. The distinction sought to be made out between the ṛṣis who were perhaps Brāhmaṇical ascetics, and the Brāhmaṇas, is interesting. This distinction would not possibly have been made, unless the member of the former was very large.

The broad features of this religious toleration are also attested in contemporary literature. In the *Arjunavivāha*, which was composed during the reign of king Airlangga, a side-view of this religious syncretism is presented in the scene describing the meditation of Arjuna in the third canto. Here he sat cross-legged, his hands rested on his chest and his eyes were fixed on the point of his nose. As the poet says, he was lost in the void ; he heard 'nothing' and was pure like 'nothing'. Indeed Indra is made to remark (6 : 2) "If you love 'nothing', you will find 'nothing'." Such ideas are also found in Vajrayāna, becausc *śūnya* or nothingness came to be designated *vajra* on account of its indestructibility, but the *śūnya* of the Vajrayānists differed from that of the *Mādhyamikas* or the

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Vijñānavādins, because it included the elements of reality, consciousness and great bliss. Obviously, the doctrines of daśaśīla and nirvāṇa, to which reference has been made, are Buddhistic, but when these means and ends are sought to be obtained through the worship of Śiva the whole idea becomes corrupted. The trend of equation or identification is carried on through later literature, specially in the *Kuñjarakarṇa*, the *Sutasoma*, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* etc. The question has also been discussed by Dutch scholars notably Kern, Krom and Rassers.[27] The statuary art of Java has also reflected this phenomenon. It may be recalled that king Viṣṇuvardhana was represented, after his death, by an image of Śiva in the dharma at Valeri and by a Sugata-image in the temple at Jajaghu.[28] Similarly, king Kṛtanagara was, after his death, "released in the Śiva-Buddha regions" and "an *arcā* (cult-statue) of Śiva-Buddha" representing the deceased king, was set up in a religious domain.[29] In present-day Bali also the same phenomenon is clearly discernible, and Buddha is regarded there as the younger brother of Śiva. The Bauddha *stutis* of Bali have considerable Śaiva admixture. Hooykaas has observed that some of them make the impression of being purely Śaiva, but are exclusively Buddha, while others are shared by the Bauddhas and the Śaivas. The same scholar has noticed further that the ḍukuḥ-priest of Bali was represented in three varieties, viz. Śaiva, Bauddha and Śaiva-Bauddha. Although he could not check up this information, the trend of religious system of Bali indicates that the infomation may be correct. In important ceremonial feasts, we always find four Śaiva and one Buddhist priests; of whom the latter faces the South and the four Śaivite priests face other directions and occupy the Central seat. Similarly, at the cremation of princes, the *toya tirta* or consecration-water of the two sects is mingled together.

Śiva was undoubtedly a versatile God. If he was, in his liṅga manifestation, identified with the pre-historic menhirs or *susu-kulumpangs* of Java, and with Buddha, he was no less amenable to his identification with Viṣṇu or Hari. This also led on to the growth of the Hari-Hara cult, of which icono-

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graphical representations are available, both in Java and India.[30] Image of Hari-Hara have been found from all parts of India, from the late Gupta period onwards. Some striking examples of the same may be seen at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In one of the amalgam icon of Hari-Hara, Buddha and Sūrya have also been represented on the sides. The most remarkable statue of Hari-Hara in Java was found at the temple of Simping; it is believed to represent the features of king Kṛtarājasa, but in the delineation of the features, greater stress was laid on the Śaiva-element, thus proving once again that Śiva was the greatest of the gods of the Indian pantheon even in the island home of Indonesia.

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CHAPTER X

SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN MALAYSIA

The story of social and religious life in ancient Malaysia has to be reconstructed from meagre data furnished by archaeological explorations, iconographic and ethnological data, inscriptions and references in the literature of the East and the West. The evidence provided by literature has to be cautiously handled, as it sometimes refers to kingdoms which defy all attempts to satisfactory indentification. The materials found in the Chinese and Arabic records have been handed down to us from different dates and are sometimes based on hearsay. Where inscriptions or other archaeological remains have been discovered in a particular area, the evidence is valuable, in so far as that particular area is concerned, but due to uncertain identification of some places mentioned in literature, it is often difficult to bring such evidence in line with the ethnological or other data furnished in early Chinese or Arabic sources. Besides, as the extent of Indian influence varied from State to State, the social, cultural and religious life of each State has to be studied separately and in the context of this complex background.

The Indianized inscriptions in North-Western Malaya, before the fifteenth century A.D., which constitute a part of the archaeological materials to be discussed presently, may be tabulated under the following heads :

1. The inscription of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā, found near the South bank of the river Muda in Province Wellesley.

2. Bukit Meriam inscription, found in Kedah, having the same contents as no. 1.

3. Cherok Tokum inscription, found near Bukit Meriam, referring to Manikatha, the protectors of all the great Buddhas.

4. An inscribed stone tablet discovered from Wales' Kedah site no. 1 with the famous Buddhist formula *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ* etc.

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5. Inscribed clay tablet from Wales' Kedha site no. 2 referring to Buddhist terms like 10 balas, 4 vaiśāradyas and 18 dharmas.

6. One gold and six inscribed discs from Wales' Kedah site no. 10 containing some Mahāyānist expressions.

7. Fragment of a silver plate with inscription, probably in Pāli, from Wales Kedah site no. 14.

8. Six gold discs from Caṇḍi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah, referring to the eight lokapālas. The script appears to be like that of the Ligor inscriptions.

9. Two small inscribed stellac from Pengkalan, Bujang, Kedah in Tamil.

10. Buddhist votive tablets of Mahāyāna tenor from two caves at Perlis, bearing the impressions of Avalokiteśvara and containing the *ye dharmāḥ* formula.

11. The Kuala Selingsing seal bearing the legend śrīviṣṇu-varmmasya.[1]

These inscriptional data, together with archaeological evidence to be discussed presently, constitute, along with the Chinese evidence, almost the only meterials for the study of society and religion of western and north-western Malaya before the arrival of the Arabs on the scene. Excepting the fact that the names and find-spots of the inscriptions differ, the same observations hold good for north-eastern and eastern Malaya. For the first five centuries of the Christian era about a dozen or so petty kingdoms pass in our view in the Isthmian part of the Malay Peninsula,[2] but no inscriptions come to our aid before the inscription of Mahānāvika Buddhagupta dating perhaps from the fourth-fifth century A.D. Archaeologlcal evidence indicates however that there were serveral Indianized societies dotting the northern parts of the West coast of the Malay Peninsula during the second or third century A.D. If Takua Pa be the same as Ptolemy's Takkola, there was an early Indian settlement in the Port-area. There was another settlement about 12 miles off from the estuary of the Takua Pa river. On account of the location of the Merbok estuary at the western end of a transpeninsular route to the East, it provided a convenient as

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well as safe anchorage for Indian shipping in the early centuries of the Chistian era. The testimony provided by the ruins of shrines in the valleys of the Merbok Kechil and the Bujang rivers cannot possibly have any other implications. By the fifth century A.D. Buddhists had established themselves in this region. Śaivism however became predominant between the Merbok estuary and the Kedah Peak alone the Bujang river in course of the next three centuries. Indeed, Wales excavated ten Śaivite shrines from the neighbourhood of the middle course of the Bujang and referred them to c. A.D. 650-750. Two audience-halls and two Mahāyānist temples seem to have been built between c. A.D. 750-900 on the same stretch of the river. If these dates be correct,[3] the remains of the shrines could probably indicate the ups and downs in the fortunes of Buddhism and Śaivism in the Merbok and Bujang Valleys. The following period was marked by the establishment of Hindu shrines on the left bank of the river. Colonisation of the Merbok led to further exploration and settlement on the banks of its southern tributaries.[4] Some of these Indian settlement seem to have persisted till Islam burst upon the scene.

Lajouqueire's Archaeological Report,[5] supplemented by the investigations of Wales,[6] throw welcome light on many of the States of the Peninsula. The Report of Lajonquiere refers to the settlements at Chumpon, Caiya, the Valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat Yala and Selensing. It states that the most important of these was Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, essentially a Buddhist colony, which was probably responsible for the great Stūpa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surround it. The mass of terracotta votive tablets in the caves inhabited by the Buddhists, of which a few specimens still exist, also belonged to this colony. The inscriptions are unfortunately very rare, and only three have been discovered, belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. The Ligor inscription dated in A.D. 775, which refers to the ruler of Srīvijaya on one face and a king of the name of Viṣṇu on the the other indicates the importance of the religion around the Bay of Bandon. Here the Mahāyāna

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Buddhism, nourished by the Sailendra monarchs, flourished at least from the later part of the eighth century A.D. A little to the North was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been Brahmanical at first, but later on Buddhist.[7]

The data on these and other States of the Malay Peninsula are admittedly inadequate, but they sometimes provide welcome glimpse into the social and religious life of the people. As the ancient inscriptions of Malaysia are not many, we have mainly to rely on the Chinese annals, supplemented by literature records from other sources, regarding the social life of the people of this region. The religious life of Malaya is inextricably entangled with ancient archaeology and sculpture, as independent literary records bearing on the subject are hardly available, except in so far as stray references occur in Chinese annals and, to a certain extent, in Arab and Indian literary sources.

The society of Malaysia was apparently based on the caste system though all the castes have not been specifically mentioned. There is no doubt however that the Brahmaṇas occupied a prominent place in the society, as stated earlier, and they have been specifically mentioned in many early records. The nobility and the commoners have also been referred to. The kings ordinarily constituted the Kṣatriya caste, but the position of the merchants was also important enough to merit attention in the Chinese annals.

The king's position was very exalted. If the interpretation of archaeological ruins from Kedah and Province Wellesley in Malaya West by Wales be correct, it would appear that the kings of this region had their palace halls for audience and also forts for their defence around the fifth century A.D. The Chinese annals, however, provide us with earlier literary data bearing on Langkasuka near mod. Patani, in East Malaya. It has been stated that an exiled relation of the king went to India and there married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. When the king of this State died, this "exiled prince was called back by the noblemen to be their king. He died more than twenty years afterwards and was succeeded by his son Pa-ka-da-to (= Bhagadatta)".[8] It is interesting to

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observe that in his letter addressed to the Chinese emperor in 515 A.D., he wrote that "the precious Sanskrit is generally known in his land. The walls and palaces of his imposing cities are high and lofty, as the mountain Gandhamādana". Although these things seem to refer to China, the high place accorded to the "precious Sanskrit" and the reference to the Gandhamādana, which inplies acquaintance with the *Rāmāyaṇa*-episode of Hanumana's uprooting the Gandhamādana hill, indicate the extent of Indian cultural influences at least in the court circles of Langkasuka. The pomp at the ancient Malayan courts sometimes reminds us of India. Regarding regality in the kingdom of Langkasuka we read in the *History of the Liang Dynasty* (A.D. 502-55) : "When the king goes out he rides on an elephant, he is surrounded with flags of feathers, banners and drums, and is covered by a white canopy. His military establishment is very complete." More details of a royal durbar are available in the Chinese annals regarding the Indianized State of Ch'ih-b'u which lay, according to Wheatley.[9] in the vicinity of Kelantan in north-eastern Malaya. In an obvious reference to the audience-hall, the Chinese annals proceed to state : ".....the king sits on a three-tiered couch, facing North in rose-coloured cloth, with a chaplet of gold flowers and necklaces of varied jewels. Four damsels attend on his right hand and on his left, and more than a hundred soldiers mount guard. To the rear of the king's couch there is a wooden strine inlaid with gold, silver and five perfumed woods, and behind the shrine is suspended a golden light. Beside the couch to metal mirrors are set up, before which are placed metal pitchers, each with a golden incense burner before it. In front of all these is a recumbent golden ox before which hangs a jewelled canopy, with precious fans on either side. Several hundred Brahmaṇas sit in rows facing each other on the eastern and western sides."[10] The description leaves no room for doubt about the strong influence extered by Indian culture in Ch'ih-t'u. Some sociological data are also provided by contemporary Chinese annals. Regarding the dress of the king and the people of Langkasuka in the first half of the sixth century A.D., we read therein ;

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"Men and women have the upper part of the body naked, their hair hangs losely down and around their lower limbs they only use a saron of cotton. The king and the nobles moreover have a thin, flowered cloth for covering the upper part of their body (slendang), they wear a girdle of gold and golden rings in their ears.[11] The scanty dress of the women sometimes remind us of iconographic representation of female figures in India, in temple sculpture and Ajanta frescoes and in other places. Further details are available in regard to the kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, where all persons pierced their ear-lobes and cut their hair. Women gathered their hair at the nape of the neck and both men and women made cloth out of rose and plain-coloured material.[12]

India contributed to the blossoming of a gay social life in some places of ancient Malaya. Wales has stated that the miniature damaru-drum found in a bronze casket recovered from the Bujang Valley, in W. Malaya reveal South-Indian type.[13] If Kora or Kalah lay on the West coast, as it seems to, then its people, according to the *New History of* the *T'ang Dynasty* (618-903)[14] played a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals and iron drums.[15] Some of these musical instruments were known in India. Indian music received royal patronage in Ch'ih-t'u, a kingdom on the north-western part of Malaya. When the Chinese ambassadors came to the kingdom in A.D. 607, they were received in a gorgeous way and "a hundred men and women sounded conches and drums", the same way as in ancient Indian courts. When the ambassadors sat, "Indian music was played". During the ceremonial feast a few days later, maidens played music in rotation.[16] In San-bo-tsai, which may refer to the Sumatran or Malayan part of the Srivijaya empire, the people had a small guitar and small drums; slaves from Pulu Condore make music for them by trampling on the ground and singing[17] Many such examples can be provided from the bas-reliefs of Indian temple-architecture.

The arrangement for reception and protocol at the court of Ch'ih-t'u was elaborate, as we learn from certain details regarding an embassy sent from China. We learn thus :

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"..... they reached the borders of Ch'ih-t'u, whose king sent the Brahmin Chiu-mo-lo, with thirty ocean-going junks, to welcome them. Conches were blown and drums beaten to entertain the Sui envoys on their arrival, and a metal cable was used as a hauser for Ch'ang-Chun's vessels. It took more than a month to reach the capital. The king sent his son, the Na-ya-chia, to welcome Ch'ang-Chun with appropriate ceremony. First he sent men to present a golden tray containing fragrant flowers, mirrors and golden forceps; two containers for aromatic oil ; eight vases of scented water; and four lengths of white folded cloth for the envoys to bathe with. On the same day at the hour of Wei (one to three p.m.) the Na-ya-chia again sent two elephants, bearing canopies of peacock feathers, to welcome the ambassadors, and a gilt-flowered, golden tray containing a decree. A hundred men and women sounded conches and drums and two Brāhmaṇas conducted the envoys to the royal palace. Ch'ang-Chun presented his credentials in the council-chamber, where those below the king were all seated. When the proclamation had been read, Ch'ang-Chun and his retinue were invited to sit while Indian music was played. When this came to an end, Ch'ang-Chun and his suite returned to their dwellings, and Brāhmaṇas were sent to offer them food. Large leaves, ten feet square, were used as platters..."[18] It may also be recalled in this connexion that, while at Langkasuka, I-tsing was treated "with courtesy appropriate to distinguished guests."

It is interesting to observe in this connexion that although the Brāhmaṇas and other functional groups have sometimes been mentioned in the Chinese annals, the sects and the denominations to which they belonged have hardly been described. The Chinese emperor being a follower of Buddhism, the Chinese annalists have referred to this religion in greater details and the rulers of Malaya have also occasionally given, it seems, undue importance to this religion, out of various motives. In any case, it is quite clear that there was a broad measure of religious toleration, enjoyed by the people.[19] This is not only reflected in the contempo-

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raneous architectural ruins of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical structures found co-existing down to comparatively late historical times, but is also reflected in the Chinese annals.

Apart from iconographic data bearing on religion, we can also glean some informations on religion from the Chinese annals. It has been stated that in 527 and 530, the king of P'an-P'an sent accredited envoys to present, among other things, a tooth of the Buddha, painted stūpas and ten varieties of perfumes. Six years later (536), an envoy was despatched to present Buddhist relics, miniature painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo-tree, excellent crystalised sweetmeats and perfumes. It has also been stated that there were ten monasteries where the Buddhist monks and nuns study their cannon.[20] The Liang Shu also states[21] that in 530 A.D. an envoy from Tan-Tan, another State in Malaya, presented to the Chinese court a memorial which was concluded in fervent Buddhist terms and was accompanied by two ivory images, two stūpas, etc. During and after the reign of Wu-ti (502-49 A.D.), temples throughout China needed Buddhist images etc. to adorn them. Indeed, between 527 and 536 A.D., P'an-P'an and Tan-Tan supplied Buddhist relics, miniature painted stūpas, leaves of the Bo-tree, ivory images, perfumes etc. to China.[22] There were also Buddhists in the kingdom of P'an-Pan. There was a monastery of religious devotees who studied "the classic of the Asura-king, but they enjoy no great respect. The Buddhist priests are commonly called pi-ch'iu (Bhikṣu), the others t'an."[23] In the State of Fo-lo-an, whose exact location is not known but which seems to have lain somewhere in the Malay Peninsula, Buddhism was also much in vogue. We thus read[24] : "The Buddhist temples are tiled with bronze and ornamented with gold. Each year the full Moon of the sixth month is kept as the Buddha's birth-day, with processions, music and cymbals. Foreign merchants take part in the celebrations. "Similar celebrations were also held in P'o-ni or Borneo.[25] It is noteworthy that the princes of San-fo-ch'i or Śrīvijaya annully burnt incense before the Holy Buddha of Fo-lo-an.[26]

Regarding the legal system prevalent in ancient Malaysia,

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our knowledge is incomplete in many vital aspects. The criminal law in some places was of an arbitrary type, because if a murderer could conceal himself for sometime he could be absolved of the penalties of murder charge.[27] The influence of Indian jurisprudence is hard to detect, as no books modelled on the *Manusaṃhitā*, as found in Java, have been discovered in Malaysia, nor do relevant data in the Chinese and Arabic records throw any welcome light from that point of view. In at least one case, however, the influence of Indian criminal law is noticeable. This is in regard to Malacca, about which we read in the *Hai-yu* (A.D. 1437): "Their capital punishment is as follows: they take a piece of wood like a post, of which one end is sharpened and the other planted in the ground about two feet deep; the sharp point is introduced into the annus of the criminal, who cries out for a moment, but immediately afterwards the point penetrates into his body and kills him."[28]

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CHAPTER XI

MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL RITES IN THE MALAYO-INDONESIAN WORLD

After birth, wedding and funeral rites constitute the two most important ceremonies in the life of a person. There are certain common features in these rites which naturally engage the attention of a careful observer. It is most unlikely that these common features, which are Hinduistic in nature, developed while the people inhabiting the Malayo-Indonesian world were living together in the mainland of Asia; rather these common traits were introduced when Hinduism was introduced into these places. In addition to these common Hindu traits, specially in regard to funeral rites, there are also common features in regard to certain marriage rites, which seem to connect the Indonesian and Malayasian people on the one hand and certain categories of people of Eastern India on the other. Unfortunately older materials for the study of these interesting things are not adequate, and we have mainly to rely on the Chinese data for our study.

Regarding the marriage-custom in Ko-lo, Ka-la or Kalah in Malaya, we read in the Chinese annals : "When a man takes a wife he makes a present of areca-nuts, sometimes of as many as two hundred dishes. After marriage, the wife follows the husband's clan."[1] If we now pass on to the island of Broneo/ Kalimantan, we shall find somewhat similar custom in the region of Pu-ni in the western coast. Regarding the custom of this place, we read in the *History of the Sung Dynasty* (970-1279 A.D.) : "For their marriage presents they first send this cocoa-tree wine, then they send arecanuts and next a finger-ring; at last they send some cotton cloth or weigh out some gold or silver, by which the ceremonies are concluded".[2] A more detailed account of the marriage ceremonies of ancient Java is furnished in the Chinese accounts, from which the following description is borrowed : "When a man marries, he goes first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brings his wife home, on which

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occasion the relations of the bridegroom beat copper-drums and gongs, blow on cocoanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo, and burn fireworks, whilst a number of men armed with small swords surround them. The bride has hair hanging loose, the upper part of her body and feet naked ; round her waist a piece of green flowered cloth is fastened ; on her head she wears strings of golden beads, and on the wrists bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented.

"The relations, friends and neighbours bring *penang* and betel, whilst with garlands of flowers and leaves they adorn a little ship which they carry along with the newly married as a form of congratulation. Arriving at the house they beat drums and gongs and rejoice for several days after which they go away."[3]

The emphasis on betels and arecanuts is also to be seen in the marriage festivals of East Java. It has been stated that the men and women of that place "continually chew *penang* and betel and lime," and at wedding time "the relations, friends and neighbours bring *penang* and betel."[4] When receiving guests they do not offer them tea but only treat them with *penang*.

It would thus appear from a study of the detalis furnished above that there is a common element in the marriage-customs prevalent in large areas of the Malayo-Indonesian world. It is the presentation of betels and/or areca or betel-nuts on the occasion of the marriage or in connexion with it. In the evolution of Hindu marriage since Vedic times, which has been the subject of a recent doctoral thesis, betels or betel nuts have no role essential to play, in the sacramental part of the Hindu marriage-rites, but they seem to be essential in the lokacara part of the ceremony in Bengal and in certain places of Orissa. On the eve of the marriage-ceremony in many places of Bengal, gifts are sent to the bride's house and these include betel-nut, oil, turmeric, vermilion, clothes, ornaments, curd, sweets, a pair of fish and a cocoanut.[5] The ceremonial reception of the bridegroom called *varaṇa* at the marriage pandal is done with betels, lamp, durva-grass etc. Among the Śabaras of Orissa, on the arrival of the bridegroom at

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the bride's house, the female relatives come to greet him with ghee, betel nut, turmeric etc.[6] Since both *tāmbul* and *pān*, meaning betel leaves, seem to be of non-Sanskritic origin, with Austro-Asiatic or Austronesian affiliation, the use of these materials in the *lokācāra* part of the marriage ceremonies of large areas of South-East Asia and Eastern India, as essential imgredients, and their extensive use in the daily life of the people of this region, indicate, along with other factors, which cannot be discussed now, racial or cultural contact. The custom of throwing grain or fruit on the bride and the bride-groom is a well-known feature in the marriage-ceremonies of South-East Asia and the Far East, but since the practice is also known in Europe and America in the shape of paper-confetti, this practice may not be brought in connexion with the *Lājahoma*-ceremony of the *gṛhyasūtras*.

The funeral rites in some places of Malaysia betray certain features which were known in India, through the whole ceremony does not look alike in their totality. Regarding funeral rites in the ancient kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u, we read in the Chinese annals :[7] "On the death of parent or brother (the mourner) shaves his hair and dresses in pure cloths. He roofs a chalet over the whole with bamboo boughs, and piles firewood around the corpse, which is laid out inside. He burns incense, sets up a banner, blows on the conch-shell and beats a drum as envoie; he then sets fire to the pile, after which the burnt wood finally falls into the water. Both nobility and commoners are treated in this way, but when the king has been cremated his ashes are preserved in a golden jar and deposited in a temple." The general framework of the funeral rites has many points of similarity with the practices in India, specially in regard to the shaving of the hair of the mourners, putting on plain dress and burning of the dead body. The collection of ashes of the princes in Ch'ih-t'u, Java and Bali and depositing the same in the temples received an emphasis undreamt of in India. The bird-burial, though well-known in Funan as attested in the Chinese annals, was not usually followed in India. In Tun-Sun, an ancient State of Malaya, bird-burial was in vogue. The T'ai-P'ing Yu Lan tells us[8]: "(the people of

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Tun-Sun) vow a bird-burial. With songs and dances they are escorted out of the towns. The remaining bones are burnt to ashes, put in an urn and sunk in the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put into a basket. Burial by fire entails throwing oneself into fire. The ashes remaining are put in a casket and entombment sacrifices are offered for an indefinite period". The bird-burial is more elaborately described in the *T'ang encyclopaedia*. T'ung Tien from the end of the 8th century, enlightens us thus: "Bird-burial is a common custom. When a man is about to die, his relative and friends sing and dance outside the town, where birds resembling geese, red in colour and with bills like those of parrots, come flying in myriads. After the man's family has withdrawn, the birds devour the flesh; when they have finished it completely they fly away. The bones are burnt and sunk in the sea. The man is then regarded as a person of superior conduct who will certainly be reborn in heaven. But if the birds circle and soar and do not feed on the man, he is afflicted and considers himself impure. He then has recourse to fire-burial, but this is considered an inferior course of action. If he is neither able to rush into the flames alive nor is devoured by the birds, he is considered to be of bad character[9]". A careful analysis of these passages would show that the indigenous custom of bird-burial here has been combined with the Hindu-system of cremation, of which the rituals were clearly defined as early as the days of the *gṛhyasūtras*. In spite of a Hindu admixture, the importance of the bird-burial has been emphasised, as the nonfeeding on the dead body by birds is considered to be a calamity by the members of the bereaved family. The funeral customs of Malacca and Johore also reveal Hindu features. Regarding Malacca, we read in the *Hai-yu* (1537)[10]: "The poorer people put the body of their dead on the pile of wood and burn their dead on a pile of wood and burn it; the rich fill the coffin with camphor and burn it likewise; the next morning all the bones are reduced to ashes" When the women of Johore are in mourning, they cut their hair and the men shave their heads repeatedly, while the dead are all burnt. The people of Pu-ni in Western

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Borneo took their dead bodies to the wilderness and exposed them there.

There were certain novel features in the funeral rites in some places of Java. In the western part called Pakalongan, Hakang or Sunda in the Chinese annals,[11] the custom is that when the parents die they are carried to the forest to be eaten by the dogs ; if they are not devoured completely by the dogs, they are very sorry.[12] The remains are then burnt and often the wife and the concubines are also burnt to accompany the dead to the next world. A more elaborate account of the funeral rites in Java is given in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* (1416).[13] It has been stated there that when a father or mother is about to die, the sons and daughters ask them first weather after their death they prefer to be eaten by dogs, to be burnt or to be thrown into water. The parents give their orders according to their wishes and after their death their directions are carried out. If it is their wish to be eaten by dogs, the body is carried to the sea-shore or into the wilderness, where a number of dogs soon arrive ; if the flesh of the corpse is eaten completely, it is considered propitious, but if not, the sons and daughters lament and weep and throw the remains into the water. When rich people, chiefs or men of rank die, their favourite concubines swear before their master's death, that in case he dies they will go with him On the day the corpse is taken out of the house a high wooden scaffolding is erected, at the foot of which wood is piled up in a large heap, and when the fire burns fiercely, two or three of his concubines, who have sworn before, their heads covered with flowers and their body decked with pieces of cloth of various colours, mount on the scaffolding and weeping dance a long time, after which they jump down into the fire and are burnt together with the corpse of their lord." Here we find, in stead of the bird-burial a kind of dog-burial, but the Hindu method of cremation, with its *suttee*-system, which was foisted on the indigenous system, is elearly discernible. In the neighbouring island of Sumatra, the practice in Indragiri on the eastern coast was to burn the dead bodies.[14] The *suttee*-system (self-immolation of widows)

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was also in vogue in Ma-yi-tung, which is supposed by Groeneveldt to be identical with the eastern coast of the island of Bankga.[15] Although the *suttee*-system is not so obvious in the Vedic hymns, *dharmasūtras* and in the Buddhist texts, there are clear references to widow-burning in the Greek accounts of India. Strabo quotes Aristoboulos referring to the customs existing in Taxila and says that he had heard from some persons of wives who refused to burn themselves were held in disgrace.[16] Since widow-burning was in vogue among the early Slavenic people, the Scandinavians, the Germans, the Scythians and others,[17] it does not necessarily follow that the custom was derived from India, but in view of the intense cultural contact between India and South-East Asia, the introduction of the *suttee*-system appears to have taken place from India.

The *suttee*-system or self-immolation of the widows in the funeral pyre of their husbands seems also to have been in vogue in Java.[18] In certain circles of the upper castes of Bali it was practised till the beginning of the twentieth century.

The funeral rites of a Balinese constitute the grandest and the greatest ceremony to the family.[19] When a Balinese dies, his body may be cremated, buried or preserved at home or exposed in the forest or dry river-beds. In the pre-Hindu period, burial was the custom, and this is also followed now for sometime till requisite money can be collected for cremation, which is unbelievably much more expensive than in India. In Bali, the wealth of a life-time can be consumed in connexion with expenses for cremation. According to circumstances, the buried body may be interred for days, months or years together before it can be disinterred, carried to the cremation-ground (sema= Skt. *śmaśāna*) in funeral towers (*bade*), which are a sort of moving chariot, with super-structure of bamboo or wood. The mortal remains are taken out of the funeral tower and placed in *patulungan* (animal-shaped coffin), while a Śaivite priest sprinkles holy water (*toya pangentas*) and fire is set to the bottom of the *patulungan*, which has sometimes the shape of sacred cows. After the cremation, ashes are cellected, as in India, and carried to the river or sea, but this custom has

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regional variations. Immediately after death, the released soul remains in the form of *pirata* (Skt. Preta= spirit), but becomes *pitara* after purificatory rites. He then becomes a Deva, devatā, baṭara or sang hyang i.e. deified being. This is the matrix of the ancestral worship, which expressed itself in ancient usage and records of India, Java and Bali. A graphic description of the śrāddha ceremony of Rājapatni in A.D. 1362 has been furnished in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. The conception of the *preta* and that of the *ativāhika-śarīra* are unknown to the *Vedas*. According to the post-Vedic conception, a deceased person becomes, after disposal, endowed with *ativāhika-śarīra* and then becomes a *preta*, from which he is released by *sapiṇḍakaraṇa*. Then he becomes *pitara*. The ceremonies have remained virtually unchanged in India since the days of the *gṛhya*-works and offers many points of comparison with modern Balinese rites and practices even in terminology. This aspect of the question needs further probe and analysis. At what point of time and how the Hindu ideas of *preta* and *pitara* worship and rituals came to be linked up with the Pre-Indian spirit or ancestral worship would be a very interesting study, and would require deeper probe than I can afford here.

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FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. On this point vide Coedes, *Les Etats* (1948), pp. 64 ff.
2. Coedes, *Taxtes*, p. 12.
3. Translated by Schoff, pp. 45-48.
4. Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
5. *Ibid*, p. 71.
6. *Ibid*, p. 86.
7. *Ibid*, p. 116.
8. *Ibid*, p. 136-7.
9. *Ibid*, p. 149.
10. *Ibid*, p. 150.
11. *Ibid*, p. 38.
12. *Ibid*, p 118.
13. *Ibid*, p. 160.
14. Among others, the Geography of Ptolemy has been handled by Renou, *La Geographie de Ptolemee, I' Indie* (1925); Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (1909); Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'apres Ptolemee* (1930). We refer to Gerini *op. cit.*, 77 ff.
15. *J.A.*, Vol. *CCII*, p. 6.
16. *Ibid*, p. 7.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.
18. *Ibid*, p. 9.
19. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65.
20. I-tsing, *Memoire*, translated by Chavannes (1894) pp. 181, 187, p. 36 f.n. 3.
21. Translated by Sachau, Vide Vol. I p. 210.
22. MS. Add. 1643, Cambridge ; Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* I, pp. 16 ff. The MS appears to be dated before 1015 A.D.
23. Translated by Ridding, pp. 90-91.
24. Taranga 57, verse 76.

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25. We may recall in this connexion the famous song of Tagore : 'O amar sonar bangla, ami tomay bhalovasi' i.e. Oh, my golden Bengal, I love thee. Bengel does not produce gold at all, but the produce of her fields and meadows is so abundant and luxuriant that it was deemed to be as valuable as gold.
26. Latest edition by H.B. Sarkar in *JAS*, Vol. I pp. 183 ff.
27. Coedes, *op. cit.*, p 137.
28. *Ibid*, p. 157.
29. For a datailed discussion of Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi, vide R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa* I, pp. 36 ff.
30. Calcutta edition, 52. 14, 19-21.
31. Vide Ferrand, *Textes*, pp. 194, 346, 377, 381, 395, 523, 583 ff.; vide also R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*; pp. 50 ff.
32. Book II, chap. XI.
33. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f. n. 2.
34. S. Levi, *Ptolemee, le Niddesa et la Brihatkatha* in *EA* II, pp. 50 ff.
35. For a detailed discussion see Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-55 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.
36. For discussion of this matter, vide Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58 ; Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, pp. 217 ff ; Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese* (1861), pp. 191-92.
37. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.
38. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 22.
    Ibid, Vol. III, p. 124 and Vol. IV p. 86 and *Jātakamālā*, no. 14
39. Taranga 54, verses 86 ff.
40. Taranga 123, verse 110.
41. Taranga 54, verses 97 ff.
42. Taranga 57, verses 72 ff.
43. Taranga 86, verses 33, 62.
44. Taranga 123, verses 105 ff.
45. Taranga 13, verses 70 ff.
46. Taranga 56, verses 56-64.
47. Book II, chap. II.
48. The passage has been discussed by S. Levi, *op cit.*, p. 53.
49. K.A.N. Sastri in *JGIS*, vol XI (1944) pp.26-28.

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50. *Ibid*, pp. 1-4.
51. S. Levi in *BKI* 88 (1931) pp. 621-7. Some of these data have been discussed by R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp 51 ff.; Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.
52. This story has been narrated in the *Bṛhatkatha*. A summary of it by Lacote Tabard has been quoted by Mujumdar in his *Suvarnadvipa* I, pp. 58-59; *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, pp. 10-12. We quote from R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp 58-60.
53. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien* (399-414), 1956, pp. 76 ff.
54. K.V. Hariharan describes the dangers of sea-voyage in early Indian sea-faring, specially in the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal. Vide *JIH* 34 pt. III, Dec. 1956.
55. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
56. *JMBRAS* XIX, pt. I (1941) pp. 46 ff.
57. The data of the itinerary have been discussed by Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.
58. Nanjio, *A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), No. 1131, Book V, p. 57.
59. Vide R.C. Majumdar, *Hiudu Colonies in the Far East* (1963) pp. 13. ff. Regarding early Burmese tradition about the foundation of such Indian colonies, one may refer to D.M. Roy, Role of Indians in ancient Burmese history, published in *Prabuddha Bharata*, 1952.
60. This inscription is believed by many scholars to be a spurious one. It may however be urged, in the light of newer data available, that when attempt was made in the Singasari-Majapahit period to adapt the older charters to the idiom of contemporary Java, the copyists or editors of such charters might have committed; on account of their ignorance of older words or terms or illegibility of the same, some unavoidable mistakes, but these mistakes do not necessarily prove that the whole charter is a fabricated one.
61. It is generally believed to stand for Aryans or noble people. Vide, in this connexion, Kern *VG* III (1915)pp. 71 ff. and VII pp. 30 ff. The name has also been brought

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in connexion with Ariaka of the *Periplus* (Vide schoffs trauslation, pp. 174-75), Ariake of Ptolemy, see 6 (Renou's edition, pp.3-4) etc. For a short review of its early history, vide D.C. Sircar in *JIH* XLIII (1965) pp. 693 ff.

61a. Vide Damais in *BEFEO*, LII(1964) pp. 93-141.

62. *Op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

63. Braddell in *JMBRAS*, XIV (1936) pp. 17-18; Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

64. *Śaṅkhajātaka* no. 442; *Mahājanakajātaka* no.539; Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

65. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, edited by Majumdar-Sastri, pp. 38-41,51.

66. *Ibid*, pp. 63,70.

67. *Ibid*, pp. 169 ff.

68. These views of Wales have also been criticised by R.C. Majumdar, Bosch and others.

69. *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

CHAPTER II

1. Finot in *BCAI*, 1911, pp 32 ff.
2. Vide Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 80 ff. and also Schlegel, *T'oung Pae*, 1901, pp.329 ff. and also Pelliot in *BEFEO*, IV pp. 283 ff.
3. For the text of the Sanskrit inscriptions, see Vogel in *BKI* 74 (1918) pp. 167-232 ; Chhabra in *JGIS* XII (1945) pp. 14-17 and *TBG* 83 (1949).
4. *JMBRAS*, Vol. XIII, pt. I (1935) p. 18.
5. Berg, *Hoofdlijnon der Javaansche litaratuur-geschiedenis*. 1929, p. 12; Moens, *Srivijaya, Yava on Kataha* in *TBG* LXXVII (1937) p. 317.
6. *HJG* (1931) p. 90 ; vide also Coedes, *Les Etats* Chaps. II and III.
7. *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, p 11.
8. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.
9. Here we find an explicit motive stated for the coming of the Indians specially the Brahmins. This statement clearly

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indicates why countries got such names as Suvarnadvipa, Suvarnabhumi, etc. The gold-oriented stories of the *Jatakas*, *Kathāsaritsagara* etc. may also be recalled in this connexion.

10. The significance of the terms *Hu* and *Fo-t'u* is not known. Vide however Pelliot, *op. cit.*
11. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
12. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.* 119.
13. *Manusamhita* III. 158; *Baudhayana* I, I, II, 4. Vide also Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 61, f.n. 4.
14. *Towards Angkor*, pp, 76-77.
15. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p 51.
16. It may correspond to *karmmanya* of the inscriptions of Central Java.
17. Vide in this connexion Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Coedes, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. II, p. 14.
18. Bosch in *TBG* LXIV (1924) pp. 227 ff.; see also Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-73.
19. The Chinese accounts have been translated by Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp 10-11; Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, serie I, Vol. IX, pp. 191-200.
20. Vide Pelliot in *EA* II, pp. 245-6; B.R. Chatterji in *JGIS* VI (1939) p. 139; Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.
21. Vide Coedes in *JA* (1909) pp 476-78, *BEFEO* XI p. 391. and *Les Etats*, pp. 69 ff.; Finot in *BEFEO* IV p. 923.

CHAPTER III

1. McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 239
2. *Rāmāyana* IV, 40, 29-30
3. Pelliot in *BEFEO* IV (1904) p. 266 ; Ferrand in *JA*, II-VIII pp. 521 ff.
4. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70
5. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 76 ff.
6. Moens, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-486 ; K. A. Nilkanta Sastri in *GSIS* VII (1940) pp. 15-42
7. Grimes in *MBRAS*, vol. XIX (1941) pp. 76-92

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8. Ferrand identifies it with Sumatra, but many others still believe it to be identical with Java.
9. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 266
10. Vogel in *Publ. Oudh. Dienst Ned. Ind.* I (1925) pp. 15-35. Latest edition by H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* I (1959) pp. 135-41
11. Stutterheim in *BKI* 95 (1947) pp. 397 ff.
12. About the location of Cho-p'e and Ho-le-tan vide Pelliot, *Deux itineraires*. pp. 271-74 ; Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff ; Moens, *op. cit.*, pp. 317 ff ; K. A. N. Sastri, *JGIS* VII, pp. 15 ff ; Coedes, *Les Etats*, p. 95
13. Ki-pin and Chi-pin of the Pre-T'ang period consisted of modern Kasmir. Vide Bagchi, *Ki-pin and Chi-pin* in *Sino-Indian Studies* II, 1946-47 pp. 42-53 ; Ryotei, *Buddhism in western region*, pp. 313 ff.
14. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-75
15. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.
16. Schlegel (*T'oung Pae* I, 9 pp. 273 ff) and Moens (*op. cit.*, pp. 350 ff.) would like to place it in the Malay Peninsula, but Pelliot (*op. cit.*, p. 265), Chavannes (*Memoire* p. 42, n. 2), Krom, (*op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff) ; R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.) and Coedes (*op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.) place it in Central Java.
17. Vide *BEFEO*, LII (1364), pp. 93-141
18. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62
19. This is related in the inscription of king Sanjaya (Canggal Inscription), 654 Śaka. It was originally edited by Kern and reprinted in his *VG* VII, pp. 117 ff , B. C. Chhabra suggested some improvements upon the reading of Kern in *JAS* (1935) pp. 34-37. The latest edition is by H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* I (1959) pp. 183 ff.
20. *History of Srivijaya*, 1949 pp. 46-50
21. Of the views now current, that of Coedes, which links up the dynasty with that of Fu-nan, has become popular, but one has to observe that the rulers of Fu-nan never use the dynastic title Śailendra but only Parvata-bhūpāla, Śaila-rāja etc. The term Śailendra is a name of Śiva, but the other two titles merely signifies the king

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of the hills, which the Fu-nan kings could claim themselves to be. Even if the Śailendra dynasty of Java be founded by an exiled prince of junior member of the royal family of Fu-nan, the natural presumption would be to perpetuate the dynastic name of Fu-nan, though it is not inconceivable to think otherwise. In any case, neither in meaning nor in form do the terms conform to one another. It seems to me that even the similarity or difference in the art of writing in contemporary Fu-nan and Central Java would not also lead to satisfactory conclusion, as the ruling Śailendra Prince of Central Java might have simply adopted the practice of writing followed in contemporary Buddhist seats of learning like Nālandā and Śrīvijaya.

22. *Carita Parhyangan* has been published in *TBG* (1919-21) and some materials of the work bearing on Sena (Sañjaya) and Panaraban, supposed by Poerbatjaraka to be identical with Paṇaṃkaraṇa, have been discussed by this scholar *BKI* in 114 (1958) pp. 257 ff.

23. Can Po-lou-kia-sseu be the corrupted form of Pura Ka(n)ju(ruha)? The name of the capital of King Gajayāna, as given in the Dinaja inscription (Bosch in *TBG* LVII, 1916, pp. 410-44 ; *Ibid*, LXIV, 1924, pp. 227-286 ; de Casparis in *Ibid*, LXXXI, 1941, pp. 499 ff) is Kanjuruha.

24. Poerbatjaraka in *Agastya in den Archipel*, 1926, pp. 109-110 and R. A. Kern in *BKI*, CII (1943) p. 545 thought Ki-yen to be a transcription of the Javanese title (*ra*)*kryan*, but Krom in *HJG* p. 283 has pointed out that the latter title has always been transcribed in Chinese by *lo-ki-lien*.

24 a. *BEFEO* XVIII, no. 6. App. I. pp. 29 ff : also *JASI* Vol 1, pp. 20 ff. for Ligo inscription. For Kelurak inscription see *TBG* 68, pp. 1.56.

24 b. On the face of it, it seems unthinkable that the greatest creation of the Śailendras in the domain of art and architecture should be located anywhere but in their home territory. Considering the question of safety of

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the capital, it is eminently reasonable to hold the view that it was on and around some hill-feature of Barabudur.

24 c. Ratu Baka and Plaosan inscriptions have been edited by de Casparis in *Prasasti Indonesia*, Vol. I. pp. 11 ff. and vol II, pp. 175 ff.

24 d. *Ibid*, I, p. 79.

25. The Śailendra inscriptions have been discussed in a comprehensive way by de Casparis in his *Prasasti Indonesia*. in two volumes, Vol. I (1950), Vol. II (1956)

26. The inscription has been edited by Kern under the title : De steen van den berg Penanggungan (Soerabaya), thans in't Indian Museum to Calcutta in *VG*, VII.

27. The detailed history of this period may be studied in other standard works on the subject : Krom, *op. cit.* ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* ; Coedes, *op. cit.* etc.

28. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.

29. *Ibid*, pp. 80-84 ; Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*. 1901 pp. 329-337 and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-85.

30. He seems to be a contemporary of Ugrasena, but the date of Kesarivarmadeva is not certain, Vide Goris, *Djawa* XVI (1936), p. 95 ; *Ibid*, *Prasasti Bali : Inscription voor Anak Wungsu* I, 9, pp. 64 ff,, 131 (no. 103). It may be observed in this connection that the last date of king Udayana was hitherto read as 1022 A.D., due to an erroneous reading of the date in the inscription of Air Havang, but Damais (*BEFEO*, XLVI, 1952 p. 87, n. 4) has corrected it to 1011 A.D.

30(a). The theme has been developed by Bosch in his article entitled : The last of the Pandavas. Vide his *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, pp. 86 ff.

31. Goris, *Prasasti Bali* I pp. 45 ff. (nrs. 901 ff.)

32. Berg, *Middle-Javaansche Historische Traditio*, pp. 121-130

33. Berg, *Kidung Pamancangah* 4 : 51 ; Ibid, *Middel-Javaansche Historische Traditio*, pp. 20-28, 37

34. Vide Hall's *History of South-East Asia* (1964) pp. 38-40

35. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

36. Ferrand in *JA* II (1919) pp. 238-41 ; Krom. *op. cit.*, p.

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84 ; Przyluski in *JGIS* I (1934) pp. 92-101 ; Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

37. For example Gerini, *op. cit.*, p. 602
38. For these inscriptions vide Coedes in *BEFEO* XXX pp. 29-80 ; Ferrand in *JA*, 1932, pp. 271-326
39. The reading of Jayavaga by Stutterheim in *Oudheden van Bali*, 1929, p. 67
40. I-tsing, *Record* p. XXX and p. 10 ; *Memoire*, p. 119
41. Vide Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 334
42. Vide *BEFEO* XVIII no. 6, App. I. pp. 29 ff and Chhabra in *JASB*-L, vol. I. pp. 20 ff. It was originally believed that the two faces of this inscription belong to one and the same inscription, but R. C. Majumdar pointed out that the two faces of the stele at Ligor are unconnected. Vice his article in *BEFEO* XXXIII, pp. 126-27
43. For various views, vide Wales in *IAL*, vol. IX, no. I, p. 4 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvipa* I, pp. 154 and pp. 204-27 ; Coedes, *Les Etats* pp. 158 ff.
44. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 310
45. Cf. K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Srivijaya*, p. 62
46. The honorific sang before the name of places is not unusual. A well-known example is furnished by Sang Hyang Hujung, which occurs in the list of dependencies of Majapahit. Śrī Jayāmṛta occurs in the inscriptions of Java, Śrī Surāvāsa in that of Sumatra, etc. cf. also the name : monastery of Śrī Nālandā in S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (edn. 1963) p. 50
47. His name appears in the *History of the Sung dynasty* (960-1279 A.D.) as Si-li Hou-ta-hia-li-tan. Vide Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-68 ; Ferrand, *L'empire Sumatranais de Srivijaya* in *JA* 1922 pp. 56-57
48. Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 17, Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 224
49. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 65
50. *Ep, Ind.*, XXII, pp. 241 ff.
51. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 76
52. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 229
53. Pane, mod. Pani or Panei on the East coast of Sumatra.
54. Jambi.

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55. The Jia-lo-t'ing of Chau Ju-kua, a State on the Isthmus..
56. Langkasuka on the East coast of Malaya.
57. Venkayya (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey Ind.* 1898-9, p. 17 ; *Arch. Surv. Burma,* 1909-10, p. 14) pointed out that Mappappalam is the sama as Papphalama of the Mahavamsa, where it is described as a part of Ramannadesa. It is supposed to be the place where the Tamil commander-in-chief Adicca landed when he invaded Ramannadesa in c. 1165 A.D. Coedes considers it to be situated in the southern part of the kingdom of Pagan (*BEFEO*, XVIII, pp. 14-15)

    Mevilimbangam was identified by S. Levi (JA, vol. *CCIII*, 1923, pp. 74-5) with Karmaranga, the Kamalanka of Hiuentsang, and placed on the Isthmus of Liger, but his identification is based too much on linguistic speculation. Reuffaer's location of it in Perak has not been found acceptable (*BKI*, vol. lxxvii, 1921, p, 83)

    Rouffaer's (*BKI, op. cit.*, p. 82) and Coedes (*Les Etats* p. 241) identification of Valaippanduru with Pandurang or Phanrang in Campā is doubtful.
58. Talaittakkolam is most probably the Takela of Ptolemy and Takkola of the *Milindapuñha*. The word Talai in Tamil means 'Chief'. The location of the place has already been discussed.
59. The profix *Ma* stands for *Mahā* or great. The rest of the component, viz. Damalingam is deeemed to be the same as Tāmbralinga of the Caiya inscription and Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-kua and Wang Ta-yuan. It lay on the East coast of Malaya.
60. The place has been identified with Lamuri of the Arab geographers, Lambri of Marco Polo (Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 376 and Vol. II, p. lxvii) and Lan-wu-li of Chau Ju-kua (*Chuh-fan-chih*, pp. 6-7). It lay in the northern part of Sumatra. The initial i is often prefixed in Tamil before foreign names.
61. The prefix *Ma* stands for *Mahā*, as stated above, and the rest of the compound stands for Necuveran of Marco Polo (Moule and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 377 and Vol.

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II, p. lxviii. It can be easily recognised as Nicobar Islands.

62. It is very probably mod. Kedah. Its identification with Kataha, Kadaram, etc., has already been discussed.
63. S. K. Aiyangar, *JIH* II p. 353
64. *Ep. Ind.* XXII, pp. 276-8 ; *Arch. Surv. of South India*, IV, pp. 226 ff.
65. Regarding this date, see Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, ser. II, vol. XIII, p. 449
66. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kua*, p. 193
67. As Mauli Bhusana in an exact translation of Cudamani, the name has reminded some scholars of the name of Cuḍamanivarmadeva and the Śailendra dynasty, but it would be risky to connect them together.
68. For different views see Coedes in *BKI*, 1927, pp. 469 ff ; Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 306 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff , K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff ; Coedes, *Les Etats* p. 301 with literature cited therein.
69. Ed. Geiger, Chap. 83, verses 36-48 ; chap. 88 verses 62-75. For detailed discussion vide R. C. Majumdar, in *BEFEO* XXXIII pp. 133 ff ; Ibid, *Suvarnadvipa* I pp. 197 ff ; Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 ff ; K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff ; Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 310 ff.
70. *S. I. Ep. Rep.*, 1917, Inscr. no. 588, pp. 50.111.
71. Krom, *Versl. en Med. Kon. Akad. Wetens. Letterk. 5 r.d.* II p. 306, Ferrand, *JA* 1922 pp. 179-81.
72. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 71
73. *Op. cit.*, p. 263
74. For text and translation see Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
75. Blagden in *JRAS* (1906) p. 119 ; Skeat, *Fables and Folk-tales from the eastern forest*, p. 81 ; Wheatley. *op., cit.*, 252 ff.
76. Vide K. A. N. Sastri's translation of the relevant portion in *The Colas*, vol. I pp. 99-100
77. Coedes *BEFEO* XVIII, 1918, p. 20) drew attention to the fact that Kalagam is used as a synonym for Kaḍāram in *Divakaram*, the earliest extant Tamil lexicon. As the meaning of Kālagam and Kaḍāram is slightly different,

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Coedes was doubtful about the identity, but K. A. N. Sastri strongly defended this identification (*JGIS* V, 1938, pp. 128-29).

78. Kaṭāha (nagara) has also figured in the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (Act V) of the 7th-8th century, in the list of *dvīpas* in the *Vāmana* and the *Garuḍapurāṇas*, in the Prākṛt work *Samaraiccakaha* of Haribhadra Suri c. 750 A.D. (ed. Jacobi, pp. 195-206 and 585) and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Taranga 60, 2-6).

79. Vide Pelliot in *BEFEO* IV (1904) p. 299 ; Ferrand in *JA* onzieme serie, t. XII (1918) p. 141 ; Luce in *JBRS* XIV 1925) pp. 169-72 ; Briggs in *Far Eastern Quarterly* IX (1950) pp. 261-62

80. *Op. cit*, p. 169, note 1.

81. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

82. Nan-chou l-wu Chih from third century A.D. preserved in *T'ai-p'ing Yu Lan*, *Fu-nan Chi* of the 5th Century, *Liang-Shu* and *Nan-Shih*, both from 7th century A.D., *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ai p'ing yu Lan* (8th century A.D.) etc.

83. Text and translation from Wheatley, *op. cit*, p. 15.

84. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52 (abridged by me).

85. *Ibid*, p. 52.

86. *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

86. *Ibid*, pp. 26 ff (abridged by me).

88. The scholars who have tried to identify the place were many and include such well-known names as Abel-Remusat, Schlegel, Aymonier, Hirth and Rockhill, Pelliot, H. Kern, Ferrand, Coedes and some others.

89 . Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

90. *Ibid*, pp. 55-6.

91. *Ibid*, p. 287.

92. *EA*, t. II, pp. 26-7.

93. Wheately, *op. cit.*, 289.

94. *Ibid*, p. 298.

95. Coedes, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, t. II, p. 41.

96. *Ibid*, Vol. I p. 48.

97. Canto 14:2.

98. These places have been identified as follows :

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(a) Hujung Medini=Johore.
(b) Saimvang=It has been variously interpreted, such as the country of the Semang people, Semong in Negeri Sembilan. The place has also been divided into two component parts, viz. Sai (buri) and mvang=and. If it is read as Sai, the place may be identified with Sai-buri near Patani.
(c) Nashor=Nishor, north of Sai, Patani.
(d) Pakamuvar may be interpreted as Paka, Muvare-Dungun, both near Kemaman.
(e) Dungun=North cape in Kemaman.
(f) Singapore.
(g) Sang Hyang Hujung = Sening Ujung between Malacca and Selangor.
(h) Kelang=Trang
(i) Keda = Kedah
(j) Jere = Jerai, Kedah Peak or Jering near Patani.
(k) Kanjap = Singkep ?
(l) Niran = Karimun ?

99. Vide Dulaurier, *JA* IV-VII, 1846, p. 544 ; Ferrand, *Textes* pp. 666-69 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

100. The name Singapore = Sing(h)apura has been interpreted in various ways. It is stated in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Brown's edition, pp. 30-31) that the first colonists having encountered a beast at the river mouth gave the new colony the name of Singhapura or Lion City. Others have derived the name from Singgah and Pura, meaning 'the City where one breaks one's journey'. Berg has traced the origin of the name to the esoteric Bhairava-Buddhism of the early Majapahitan court, where the sobriquet of 'lions' was supposed to illustrate the demoniac and orgiastic meetings (Vide Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4).

None of the explanations seem satisfactory to me, as a simple explanation can be offered for the same. In Indian literature, old and new, Simha or lion has always stood for prowess and majesty. Many names in India, including surnames, have the component of

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Siṃha or Lion. When the epithet is transferred to men or things, it attributes the power or majesty of the Lion to these men or things. In my district, there is an important village called Vīrasiṃha meaning Hero-Lion, obviously meaning the heroes were like lions i.e. lion-hearted heroes. In a similar way, Sing(h)arajya of Bali, Sing(h)asari of Java and Sing(h)apura may be interpreted respectively as the kingdom of the lion(-hearted people), (the kingdom having) the quintessence or majesty of the lion and the City of the lion(-hearted people).

101. Coedes, *Les etats*, p. 409.
102. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ; *T'ouug Pao* (1915) p. 115.
103. Vide Kern, *VG* VIII, pp. 55 ff ; Vogel in *BKI* 74 (1918) – pp. 167 ff ; Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff ; K. A. N. Sastri, *TBG* (1936) pp. 515 ff ; Chhabra in *JGIS*, XII (1945) pp. 14-17. It may be recalled in this connexion that yupas of the time of the Kusana monarch Vasiska were discovered more than half a century ago from Isapur, a village on the bank of the river Yamuna opposite Mathura. The yupas of Kutei and Mathura are however dissimilar in size and shape, but their religious objectives were identical. See in this connexion Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 202. See also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1910-11, pp. 40 ff, plates XXIII-XXIV.
104. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 287 f.n. 2
105. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, 109-10
106. *OJO* LXXXIII.
107. The unidentified places bear the same name now.
108. Groeneveldt, *op, cit.*, pp. 111 ff.
109. *Ibid*, pp. 103 ff.

CHAPTER IV

1. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (1952) pp. 1, 8 ; *Encyclo Ned. Indie* (1218), s.v. *Indonesische taalsam*, d. 143. For the linguistic map of Indonesia, vide Gonda, *op. cit* ; Esser, *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland*, Batavia, 1938 ; Ensink in

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Winkler-Prins, *Algemeene Encyclopaedie, Amsterdam*, S.V. *Indonesische talen* ; Voorhoeve, *Languages of Sumatra*, 1955; Loeb, *Sumatra*, p. 352.

2. For details of the languages of Borneo, vide A.A Cense and E.M. Uhlenbeck : *Critical Survey of Studies on the languages of Borneo.*
3. *Wirataparwa*, ed. Juynboll (1917) p. 98.
4. Inscription of Kedukan Bukit (Palembang, Sumatra), ed. by Coedes in *BEFEO* XXX (1930) pp. 29 ff.
5. *OJO* II.
6. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in transition : A study of social change*, 1956 (2nd edition, 1959) p. 379.
7. Quoted by Brandes in his edition of the *Pararaton*, p. 163. The term also occurs in the *Nag.* 94 : 3-4. While commenting on the word in his *Java in the fourteenth century*, vol. IV, p. 336, Pigeaud observes : "As gita and kidung seem to refer to Javanese poetry of the pantun-perikan kind, perhaps lambang was the name of similarly artificial poems in Indian metres. Perhaps canto 97 of the *Nāg* where two consecutive half verses contain the same syllables in inverted order was called a lambang".
8. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, p. 513
9. Some scholars have underestimated the effect of the change-over, but we may recall in this in this connexion what has been stated in the *Tung Hsi Yang K'au* (1618 A.D.) : "Majapahit has vanished also, having been destroyed in the wars which accompanied the introduction of Islam". Vide Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 56. The disappearance of pre-Muslim literatura from Malaya, Sumatra and near-disappearance from Java can not be an accidental phenomenon nor can it be explained by fortuitous circumstances, as, according to Chinese evidence, a rich Sanskrit literature existed in Sumatra (Vide H. B. Sarkar in *JIH*, vol. XLII, 1964, p. 396). The same evidence also speaks of the study of Sanskrit literature by the Brāhmaṇas of Malaya. We may recall in this connexion the fate of the University town of Odandapura-vihara in Bihar (India), which was

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literally destroyed by fire and sword by the Muslim conquerors in C. 1199 A.D. (*History of Bengal* II, p. 3, ed. J. N. Sarkar). The University at Alexandria had to face a similar situation.

10- Vide Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 122. Hazeu had observed in his *Oud en Nieuw uit do Javaansche Letterkunde* (1921) pp. 6-7 that this literature was a futile attempt to imitate the Old-Javanese literature, while Berg in his *Hoofdlijnen op. cit.*, pp. 16-17 has expressed the view that the New-Javanese literature of Mataram is to be viewed as a restoration or resurrection of the old literature of Central Java and that the difference between the Old-Javanese literature and the New Javanese literature is due to historical reasons.

11. For these languages see, *Encyclo. Ned. Ind.*, s.v. *Javaansch* pp. 211 ff.

12. Bernet Kempers in *Tjan Tjee Siem* in *TBG* 84 (1950).

13. In the *Pararaton* (ed. Brandes-Krom, *VBG* 62, 1920, pp. 24-33, reference has been made to a kidung work called Vukir Poleman (Hill of Fish-tank), written by Haji Jaya Katvang, the last ruler of Kaḍiri, where some new metres seem to have been evolved. The tengahan metre, which represents an intermediate stage between Skt. metre and native metre flourished in Kaḍiri ; a Kaḍiri-metre is also in existence. Another ballad metre of the Middle Ages of Java is called Vukir, Ukir or Adri. Indeed, the kidung literature of the first phase is so closely cennected with Kaḍiri and Jaya Katvang that they must have had something to do with its development.

14. In the *Bṛhaspatitattva* (ed. S. Devi), p. 51 we read : "... they are happy by accepting a husband or wife, happy with the supporting music of instruments, kidung and gupitagupitan poems." In the 14th century, the kidungs had become so popular that king Hayam Vuruk, overwhelmed by the beauty of the Penggung Mountain composed a kidung in the native metre (*Nāg.* 58 : 1 ; also 30 : 1).

15. Vide Goris, Inscription of Kamalagi (Kuburan Candi), 743 Śaka in *TBG* 70 (1930) pp. 157-170 ; Kern, Copper-

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plates of Gedangan, 782 Saka in *VG* VII pp. 17-53, etc.

16. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, p, 501. Gonda thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 109) that such pentuns were neither prose works nor poems. From the view-point of historical development they were in existence before prose and poetical composition took place.
17. *Manjusrimulakalpa* II, p 332.
18. For a discussion on this subject Vide Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16, 119-20, 121.
19. Gonda in *BKI* XCVII, pp. 101 ff and *Sanskrit in Indonesia* p. 36-37. Vide also W. Kern in *TBG* 78 (1938) pp. 271-73.
20. Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-48
21. *Ibid*, p. 52.
22. *Ibid.*. pp. 62-3.
23. *Ibid.*, 68 f. n. 102 and 103 on p. 78.
24. *Ibid*,, p. 89 with literature cited therein. See also Anjaneyulu, *Tamil words in Indonesian and Malay languages* in *Tamil Culture* IX (1961)

P5. Drewes, *The effect of western influence on native civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, 1929, p. 126.

26. *TBG* XXXII (1889) pp. 112 ff., 129 ff.
27. *CF.* Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 181.
28. Vide in this connexion Kern *VG* VII pp. 67 ff ; Krom, *HJG*, p. 5 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

28a. Vide Makarenko in *Tamil Culture*, XI (1964) pp. 58-91.

29. Chhabra in *JASB* (1935) p. 63.
30. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 52, 58, 135.
31. Goris, *Theologie*, p. 144 ; see C. Hooykaas, *Veda and Siwa, Rsi and Bhujangga* in *BKI* 120 (1964) pp. 231 ff.
32. Latest edition by De Casparis in *TBG* 81 (1941) pp. 499ff.
33. *Nāg.*, 83 ; 3, 3-4.
34. *Ibid*, 83 : 4 ; 93 : 1.
35. *OJO* XCIV and XCV.
36. The Balinese texts have been published by S. Levi, *Sanskrit texts from Bali* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, no. 67, 1932).
37. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
38. *Ibid.* pp. 7 ff ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

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39. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. XXX.
40. *Ibid*, pp. XXX ff.
41. *Rgveda* 3. 62. 10 ; Goris, *Theologie*, p. 144.
42. *Saurapurāṇa* 18, 34 ; 41, 76 ; 72, 19 : 44, 60 ; *Kālikā-purāṇa* 66. 22, etc. The section of the Gāyatrī-*mantra* quoted above is part of the Sivasūtra-*mantra* beginning with *yajñopavitam paramam pavitram*, which occurs in the *Āraṇyaka*, *Baudhāyana*, *Vaikhānasa* and *Pāraskara gṛhya-sūtra*. Vide Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff and Levi, *op. cit.*, p. XVI.
43. H. B. Sarkar, *Indian influences*, pp. 74-78 ; Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900 ; 1965).
44. Gonda, *Het Oudjavaansche Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Bibliotheca Javanica 5 &—(1932-33) ; Ibid, *The Old Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in *Purāṇa* II (1960) pp. 252-67.
45. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 119.
46. Text and translation by Pigeaud, 1924 ; an English summary may be seen in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.
47. For summary and older literature on the subject, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.
48. Quoted by Vreede, *Catalogue* (1892) pp. 13 ff. ; Gonda, *De Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel*, pp. 28-29.
49. For summary and older literature, vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
50. Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*,, pp. 155 ff. ; for older literature vide Juynboll, *Supplement* II, pp. 172 ff. ; Pigeaud, *Tantu*, pp. 304 ff.
51. Ed. Gonda in *BKI* 90 (1933) pp. 329-419 and *BKI* 92, pp. 331-458.
52. Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 77; H. B Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 34ff.
53. Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff. ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 42. ff.
54. Ed. Sudarshana Devi, 1957.
55. Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.
56. Ed. Kats, 1910.
57. Ed. Wulff, 1935.
58. *Sang hyang Kamahayanikan* p. 118 ; Krom, *HJG*, pp. 219, 220.
59. Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-156.

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60. Wulff *op. cit.*, p. 10.
61. Ed. Kern, 1901. See also *TBG* 56 (1914) pp. 365 ff. For a summary see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-87. For a. study of its religion, vide Krom Borobudur II, pp. 302 ff.
62. Juynboll, *Supplement* I (1907), cod. 5023 (1); H. B Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp 85-86.
63. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 88.
64. Cod. 3623 (1) in Juynboll, *Supplement* II : H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
65. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, cod. 3868 (3) ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
66. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century*, Vol. I pp. 87-90 (text) and Vol. III pp. 129-37 (translation).
67. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I pp. 92-95 (text) ; Vol. II pp. 127-30 ; vol. III pp. 139-40 translation ; see also *Ibid*, Vol. IV pp. 288, 370-377.
68. Pigeaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp, 81-86 ; Vol. III pp. 119-28 ; Vol. IV pp. 351-9.
69. C. Hooykaas in *JGIS*, 15 (1956) pp. 18-34, with literature cited therein.
70. Raffles, *History of Java* I (1830) pp. 288 ff ; C. Hooykaas *op. cit.*, pp. 34-47.
71. Ed. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 4 (1933). For its modern version, one may study Mounier's paper in *Tijdschr. Neerland. Ind.*, 5th year (1843), 2nd part, p. 236 ff.
72. Ed. Raghuvira, 1962.
73. Ed. Sharada Rani, 1956.
74. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
75. Its influence is reflected in the *Bhomakāvya* (1/5) ; inscriptions like *KO* XVI, *OJO* LXXXV ; *Rsisasana* (Vide Pigeaud, *Tantu*, p. 300).
76. Text in *BKI* 100 (1641) pp. 350-60.
77. Jenker, *Eon oudjavaansche wetbook vergeleken met Indische rechtsbrennen*, 1885.
78. Van Naerssen in *BKI* vol. 100 (1941) p. 358.
79. *Ibid*, pp. 364-65, 372 and f. n. 2.
80. For details see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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81. *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.
82. Published by International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*. pp. 107 ff.
83. S. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp, 87-88 ; Gonda. *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 106.
84. Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. XXXI.
85. Juynboll, *Supplement* II p. 215, no. 5075.
86. H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS* III (1936) pp. 108-12.
87. Juynboll, *op. cit*,. p. 281 : H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.
88. Juynboll, cod. 4009 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
89. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 216, no. 4518.
90. *Ibid*, cod. 3906 (1) and 5140 (2) H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 111. It was supposed by Van der Tuwk (*KBNW* I, p. 146) as a corrupted form of ekalapya, while Gonda (*op. cit.* p. 125 f. n. 38) thinks that it may stand for *ekarthalabhya* i.e. to be understood in the same meaning (as synonyms).
91. Kern *VG* IX, pp. 273 ff ; see also Juynboll, *Supplement* I pp. 170 ff ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
92. Among others by Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 107. See also Kern *VG* IX p. 281 ; Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
93. First edited by Friederich in *VBG* 1849 dl. XXII ; Kern, *Oud-Javaansche Leerdicht ever versteeuw* 1875 ; *VG* IX (1920) ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-17.
94. Perhaps the publication of Yādavaprakāśa's ṭikā on *Piṅgalachadaḥsūtra* will enable us to institute a fresh comparison.
95. Juynboll, *Supplement* II, p. 491 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
96. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, cod, 4675.
97. Aichele in *OLZ* 29 (1926) p. 937 ; *Ibid* in *Djawa* II (1931) contrtbuting a paper on outward form of Kavi poesy. Vide also C. Hooykaas : *The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary kakavin as to form and content, VKNAW*, 1958 and his *Indisch-Indonesische peezie*. See also H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-130.
98. *BKI*, 1883, p. 151.
99. Vide Goris in *Djawa* 1037 pp. 281-290 ; Gonda, *op. cit.*,

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192 and f. n. 32. Cf. Nāg. cantos VI and VII where some princesses have been compared to these veins ; Vide also Weck, *Hoilkunde and volkstun auf Bali*, 1937 and Skeat, *Malay Magic*.

100. Cf. Malay Katik lima or five *mahūrttas*.

101. For further references vide Raffles, *op. cit.*, I (1830) pp. 531 ff. Van Eck in *BKI* 1883 p. 154 ; Juynboll, *Supplement* II pp. 229, 237, 289-90 ; Goris, *Djawa* XII (1932) pp. 310-12.

102. Vide *JMBRAS*, vols. XIII-XIX (1936-41).

103. *ISCC*, p. 30.

104. *BEFEO*, XVIII, p. 149.

105. Vide Juynboll, *Supplement* II pp. 65 ff ; Do, *Suppl. Cat. Sund Bal. Sas.* HSS (1912) pp. 131 ff ; Stutterheim, *Rama-legenden*, 1925. Regarding these later *Rāmāyaṇas*, see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-211.

106. J. Kats, *Het Ramayana op Javaansche tempel-reliefs*, p. 17.

107. Vide Sudarshana Devi, *Bṛhaspati Tattva*, p. 48 ; Pigeaud *Java in the fourteenth century*, in which the text of the Rajapatiguṇḍala gives the most detailed account of the Yogīsvaras, translation of the same in Vol III pp. 132 ff.

108. *VBG* XXII, no. 11, p. 12.

109. For the date of the *Rāmayaṇa*, see Poerbatjaraka in *BKI* (1926) pp. 181-82 and *FKI* (1926) pp. 265-72 ; *TBG* 72 (1932) pp. 151-214 ; Goris in *Djawa* 7 (1927) pp. 268-9.

110. Kern edited the work under the title *Ramayana Kakavin Oud-Javaansche holdendicht*, 1900 ; Juynboll, *Kavi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Glessarium op het Oudjavaansch Ramayana*, 1902 ; Kern translated the first six sargas in *BKI* and reprinted the same in *VG* X (1922) pp. 77-140 ; Juynboll translated the remaining sargas in *BKI*, Vol. 78 (1922)-94 (1936). The socalled interpolated passages were translated by C. Hooykaas in *BKI* 113-114 (1957-58) and discussed them in *VKI* 16 (1955). An English summary of the book up to canto 20 may be seen in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-194.

111. Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, Ghosh in *JGIS* III pp. 113-7;

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C. Hooykaas, *VKI*, XVI, pp. 14 ff with litarature cited therein.

112. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 195
113. *Ibid*, pp. 224 ff.
114. *Ibid*, pp. 229.
115. *Ibid*, pp. 230 ff.
116. Juynboll, *Adiparva*, 1906. For an English summary see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-240.
117. Juynboll, *Virataparva*, 1912 ; Wulff, *Den Virataparva og dens Sanskrit origineel*, 1916 ; Gonda, *op cit.*, pp. 113 ff H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-244.
118. Ed. Gonda, *Hot Oudjavaansche Bhismaparva*, 1936 ; see also his *Aanteekeningen bij hot Oudjavaansche Bhismaparva* (1937).
119. For an English summary vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-48.
120. The text has been translated by Gonda in *TBG* 75 (1935) pp. 52 ff. The text is to be found in Gonda's edition of the *Bhismaparva* (Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 7, pp. 38-65).
121. Ed. Gunning, *Bharatayuddha, Oudjavaansch Heldendihct* 1903. Translated by Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas in *Djawa* 14 (1934) pp. 1-87. See also C. Stuart, *Brata-Jeeda* in *WBG* 27 and (1860).
122. Juynboll, *Drio beeken van het Oud-Javaansch Mahabharata* in *Kavi-tekst on Nederlandsch vertaling*, etc. 1893 For description see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-261
122. See *BKI*, 72 pp. 401 ff.
124. Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 155-54 ; *NBG*, 31, pp. 114. 16 ; Sarkar, *op. cit*, pp. 263-64.
125. Juynboll, *Supplement* I, pp. 160-61 ; Van der Tuuk, *KBNW* pp. 737-38. The name of the book has been stated in canto XXII : 5.
126. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-67. An inscription of king Kṛtajaya is dated 1190 A.D.
127. Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka in *BKI* 82 (1926) pp. 181-305. It has also been versified in modern language. Vide Friederich, *Vivaha Djarva en Brata*

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Joeda Kavi (fragment), 1878, See also Gerieke's *Vivoho of Mintorogo* in *VBG* 20 (1844).

128. Juynboll, *Catalogue* I p. 140 ; Poerbatjaraka in *TBG* 58 (1918) pp. 380 90 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 274ff.
129. Jyunboll, *Supplement* I p. 137 ; Ibid, *Drie Boeken*, pp. 19-20; *Actes debe Congres de Orientale section Ariyenne*, pp. 81-121; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 ff.
130. Ed. Swellengrebel, 1936. For summary vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 282. ff.
131. Vide *BKI* 6th series VI, 1899 pp. 214-27 ! H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 285.
132. Juynboll, *Catalogue* II. The text has been edited by Prijohoetomo with translation in 1934. He refers it to the period between 1500 and 1619 A.D. It has several New and Middle-Javanese recensions.
133. Juynboll, Catalogue I p. 270.
134. Ed. Poerbatjaraka, Biblotheca Javanica no. 3 ; Vide also Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, pp. 136 ff.
135. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 312 ff.
136. Juynboll, *Supplement* I pp. 135-37 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp 316 ff.
137. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff. ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-322.
138. Juynboll, *Supplement* I, p. 156 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-23 ; See also Poerbatjaraka in *TBG* 57 (1915) pp. 227-40.
139. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-55 ; H. B. Sarkar *op. cit.*, pp. 324-25.
140. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60 ; H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit*, pp. 325-6.
141. Teeuw, *Het Bhomakavya* (with Dutch translation) 1946.
142. Discussion in H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 293 ; more elaborately by Rassers in *Panji, the Culture Hero*, pp. 104 ff. For earlier discussion on Javanese wayang Purva vide, among others, Serrurior, *De Wajang Poerwa* (1896) Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennins van het Javaansche tooncel* (1897) and others cited in Rasser's work cited above.
143. H. B. Sarkar. *op. cit.*, pp. 295-96.

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144. Edited with text and translation by C. Hooykaas, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 2.
144(a). *BKI*, 121 (1965) pp. 350 ff.
145. Vide H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-82.
146. *History of Java* II (1830) pp. 73 ff.
147. Latest edition by Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century* (Five volumes).
148. Edited by Brandes-Krom in *VBG* 62 (1920). First published in *VBG* 49 (1896).
149. *Ibid*, introduction, p. 5.
150. I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp. 64, 159, 182, 187, 189.
151. Saratcandra Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of snow*, pp. 50 ff.
152. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65 ; Ferrand, *JA*, 1922, pp. 19-20.
153. The Achenese, translated by O'Sullivan, Vols. I & II, 1906.
154. For Malay literature, vide *Encyclo. Ned. India*, pp. 591 ff., s. v. *Literatur* (*Maleische*).

CHAPTER V

1. Groeneveldt, *N*otes, pp. 13 ff.
2. *Ibid*, p. 12
3. Vide Coedes, *Angkor* : *an introduction*, pp. 20, 31.
4. Grader has observed (*Bali* : *Studies in life, thought and ritual*, p. 173) that there is "an important difference between the early Javanese candi and the modern Balinese structure, in that the latter never serves as a final resting place for the cremated remains of a deceased person."
5. Krom *Inleiding* I, p. 138 ; *HJG* pp. 128 ff.
6. Stutterheim has discussed the meaning of the Kala-Makara ornament in *IAL* III (1929) pp. 27-58, figs. 1-11. See also G. de Coral Remusat in *BEFEO* 36 (1936) pp. 427-35. It seems that the Kala Makara combination had an awfully protective value of magical significance.

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From the use of the word danturam (tooth like decoration) in the Dinaja inscription, it is evident that the motif was introduced into Java before 760 A.D.

For an archaeological description of Candi Kalasan, one can study, Krom, *op. cit.*, 226-264, pls. 11-12 ; R.C. Majumdar, Suvarnadvipa II, pp. 178 ff., pl. I, fig. 2.

7. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-69 pl. 13 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff., pl. II, fig. 1.
8. Krom, *op. cit*, pp. 272-74, pl. 14 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 184.
9. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-294, pls. 15-18 ; R.C Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp, 184 ff., pl. II, fig. 2.
10. Krom, *op. cit.*, II pp. 4-17, pls. 41-44 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff.
11. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-23, pl. 45 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff ; Van Blom, *Tjandi Sudjiwan*, 1935.
12. There is a vast literature on Barabudur. One can study the standard works of Krom and Van Erp as well as those of Paul Mus. Separate studied have also been made regarding specific problems of Barabudur such as its name, form, significance, identification of its reliefs, etc.
13. Vide *JGIS* III (1936) pp. 168 ff. In this connexion see also Foucher in *BEFEO* III pp. 78 80 and Mus. *Barabudur*, Vol. 32, pp. 344 ff.
14. The inscription may be studied in De Casparia, *Paasasti Indonesia* I (1950) pp. 24 ff.
15. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927) p. 204.
16 Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-320, pls. 19-21 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 ff., pl. pl. III.
17. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-50, pls. 23-24 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp 192 ff., pl. IV.
18. *The making of Greater India*, p. 45.
19. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-490, pls. 35-40 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff., pls X and XI, XX-XXII. Good reproduction of the Ramayana reliefs may be seen in Kata, *Het Ramayana op Jazaansche tempel-reliefs.*
20. Krom, *op. cit.*, II pp. 39-44. For description and plates vide De Haan, *OV* 1924. See also Bosch, *Selected Studies*

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in Indonesian Archaeology, pp. 47-107

21. In a remarkable study on this site, Stutterheim (*TBG* 77, 1937, pt. 2 pp. 214-50) pointed out that the Javanese artists had transplanted the idea of the Mt. Meru of India to emphasise the nature and significance of the place. Regarding the identification of some reliefs, see Bosch, *op. cit.*
22. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-66; *BKI* 89 (1932) pp. 12 ff and plate ; *Ars Asiatica* VII, pl. 34.
23. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
24. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
25. Brandes, *Beschrijzing van Tjandi Singasari* (1909) ; Brandes, *Beschrijving van ruine bij de desa Toempang, genaamed Tjandi Djago*, 1904 ; Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-130, pls. 50-63 ; *The antiquities of Singasari*, Jessy Blom, 1939.
26. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
27. *The bronzes of Nalanda and Aindu-Javanese art.* p. 75.
28. The kind of stone used militated against the idea of the importation of these images from India, but the writing of the Old-Javanese cipher and the Proto-Bengali script, even if these be from the same hand, which may even be questioned, do not necessarily prove that the sculptor was a Javan. It can not be an impossible feat on the part of an East-Javan or a Bengalee to learn the script or copy out by chisel what was written on a lontar for guidance. The possibility is not precluded that the artist or sculptor merely engraved on the alignments of coloured writing. Some of these images might have therefore been executed by sculptors specially procured from India. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
29. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9, pl. 54 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV.
30. Krom, *op cit.*, pp. 165-67, pl. 65 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p 292, pl. XXXVI.
31. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
32. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
33. *Ibid*, p. 245.

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34. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 258-59, 262-64.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-79
37. Vide Brandes, *De wolken tooneelen van Panataran* (*Singasari monograph*) 1900
38. Krom, *op. cit.*, pl. 108
39. *Ibid.*, pl. 103, R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII
40. *JAL* III pl. V ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII, fig.3.
41. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII fig. 1.
42. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp, 372-81, 381-85, pl. 99 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII.
43. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 366-72.
45. Stutterheim, *Bull. of Raffles Mus., Series* B, Vol. I, no. 3, 1937, p. 147 ; Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
46. Goris in *Djawa*, XVII, 1937, pp. 261-80.
47. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 80.
48. Stutterheim, *Indian influences on Old-Balinese Art*, p. 28 pls. VI and VII.
49. Schnitger, *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, pls. XVIII-XX.
50. *Tjandi Baraboedoer*, p. 61.
51. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pl. i, p. 84.
52. Vide Schnitger, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIII-XXXV.
53. For a discussion on the subject, vide *ABIA*, 1931, p. 32 ; Schnitger, *op. cit*, p. 3 and pl. 1.
54. Vide *OV* 1930, pl. 45 ; *ABIA*, 1931, pl. X c. d, e ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 325, pl. LXIII, figs. c, d, e.
55. Schnitger, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
56. Stuterheim, in *JAL* XI, N. S., pp. 105-9.
57. D. P. Ghosh in *JGIS* I, p. 35.
58. *OV* 1930, Biji. C ; K. A. N. Sastri, *JGIS* III (1936) pp. 104-7.
59. *OV*, 1930 pl. 41.
60. Krom, *HJG*, p. 247 ; Schnitger. *op. cit.*, p. 32.
61. For iconographic description see Schnitger, *Batang Hari* p. 9 ; see also Krom in *TBG* LXIV (1924) pp. 571-79 and *HJG*, p. 414.

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CHAPTER VI

1. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ; Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
2. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Regarding the kingdom of Langkasuka, vide *Ibid*, p. 10.
3. *ABIA* (1927) pp. 16-20 ; *Journ. Siam. Soc.*, XXI, pt. 3 (1928) pp. 195-210.
4. For a detailed examination of the data, vide Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-44 and 268-72.
5. *IAL* IX pp. 8 ff.
6. Vide Dupont in *BEFEO*, XLI (1941) pp. 253-4 ; Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
7. Wales in *IAL* no. 1 (1935) pp. 9-10 ; *Towards Angkor*, pp. 47 ff. For earlier literature. vide Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909) pp. 234-7 and (1912) pp. 166-9.
8. Wales in *IAL, op. cit,,* pp. 22-23 and *Towards Angkor*, pp. 51-68.
9. K. A. N. Sastri in *JMBRAS* XXII, pt. 1 (1949) pp. 25-30.
10. *Journal of Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, 1849, p. 482.
11. Vide Low in *JASB* XVII, pt. 2 (1848) pp. 62-66 ; *Ibid* XVIII pt. 1 (1849) pp. 247-9. For recent discussion on the subject see, among others, R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 90 ; Coedes, *Les etats*, pp. 88 ff ; K. A. N. Sastri, *South Indian influences in the Far East*, pp. 82-3.
12. A seal of Raktamṛttikāmahāvihāra has been found from the site of Rajbaridanga in village Yadupura near Ciruti station in W. Bengal (From a communication to a meeting of the Asiatic Society on 1.7. 63). A monograph has since been published. For earlier literature vide Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* II p. 192 ; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 733 ; *M'crindle, Ptolemy.* p. 229 ; Ferrand in *JA*, 1919 p, 256 ; Krom, *HJG* p. 73 ; R. C. Majumdar *op. cit,,* pp. 81 ff ; Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

12a. Wales, *JMBRAS*, XVIII, pt. I (1940) and Vol. XX, pt. I (1947) pp. 1-11.

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13. Wales in *JMBRAS* XVIII pt. I, site nos. 4-9.
14. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 34.
15. Wales in *JMBRAS* XVIII pt. I (1940) pp. 18-21 and K. A. N. Sastri, *South Indian influences in the Far East*, pp. 84-5.
16. Lamb in *Malaya in History* (1958) Vol. IV pp. 2 ff. and Vol. V (1959) pp. 5 ff.
17. *Towards Angkor*, pp. 74-75.
18. *Ibid*, p. 76.
19. *Ibid*, p. 190,
20. *BCAI*, 1909, pp. 184-85.
21. In the article in *IAL* IX no. I, pp. 1-31 cited above. See also his *Tomards Angkor*, pp. 153 ff.
22. For archaeological description and photos, Vide Lajonquiere, *BCAI*, 1909, pl. II, fig. 7, pl. III, fig. 8; Wales in *IAL* IX, no. 1, pl. VI-1 and 3 ; *BEFEO* XXXI, p 378, 380-84, pl. XXXIX, fig. 41 and pls. XL-XLIV, figs. 42-4 ; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, II pp. 341 ff. and pl. LXXIV, fig. 2.
23. Parmentier in *Etudes Asiatiques* II p. 210; Lajonquiere, *BCAI* (1909) pp. 229 ff, figs. 16, 24 ; *Ibid*, 1912, pp. 148 ff. fig. 34 ; Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* , pp. 342 ff.
24. Vide *BEFEO* XXXI, pp. 373 ff., figs. 39 and 40 and plate XXXVIII ; *IAL* IX, no. I pl. VI-2 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 344 and pl. LXXIV, fig. 3.
25. Coedes in *IAL*; Vol. I, p. 65 ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
25. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ; Coedes, *op. cit.*
27. *Towards Angkor*, pp. 187-88.
28. *Ibid*, p. 195.
29. For particulars see *Ibid*, pp. 22-23 and pl. VII. Also *BEFEO* XXXI pp. 373 ff. and R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 344.
30. Lajonquiere in *BCAI* (1909) pp. 208ff., pl. I figs. 3-5 : R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
31. Dupont in *BEFEO* XLI (1941) pp. 253-4 ; Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 45.

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32. *JMBRAS*, Vol. XII pt. I (1934) p. 4. Chhabra in *JASB-L* I (1935) assigns it to 8th century. According to R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 81 it is to be dated in the 5th century A.D. Reproduction of the seal may be seen in Chhabra. *op. cit.*, pl. 5, figs. 3 and 4.
33. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 16, pl. XIII c ; Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 31.
34. *BEFEO* vol. XLI, 2 pls. XXVIII and XXXI.
35. K. A. N. Sastri. *JMBRAS* Vol. XXII (1949) pp. 27, 30
36. *Towards Angkor*, p. 150.
37. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 34.
38. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* (1937) pl. I.
39. Cohn, *Buddha in der kunst des Ostens* (1925) p. 28.
40. Bosch in *TBG* 73 (1933) pp. 495-513.
41. Rougier in *BCAI* (1912) pp. 212-13 and Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 197.
42. Coedes in *Journ. Siam Soc.*, Vol. XXI.
43. *IAL* XVI (1942) p. 41. See also Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, p. 74 and fig. 47.
44. *IAL* IX no. 1, pl. v (i).
45. *JRAS* 1946, pl.XV ; *JMBRAS*, Vol. XX, no. 1. pls. i and ii.
46. *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1940) p. 50.
47. *Ibid.* See also Evans, *JFMSM*, Vol. XV; pt. 3, pp. 135, 136, pls. XLII, XLIV.
48. Wales in *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1 (1940) p. 50.
49. Wales, *Towards Angkor*, pp. 188-89.
50. *Ars Asiatica* XII. pls. 15 and 16.
51. Photo in Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
52. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
53. Regarding representation of these finds, vide *JMBRAS* Vol. XXII pt. 4 (1949) pls. 1-6.
54. *Ibid*, pl. 7.
55. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, Pl. VI d ; Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 89.
56. Translated by Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, p. 157,
57. For a detailed study see Bosch in *OV* 1925 pp. 132-146, pls. 23-34. See also *Midden-Oost Borneo Expeditie*, 1925, pp. 391-423.

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58. *OV*, *op. cit.*, pl. 31-a ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*. pl. LXX, fig. 2.
59. *OV* and *Midden-Oost Borneo expeditie, op. cit.*
60. *ABIA*, 1926, p. 25.
61. Vide Witkamp in *Tijd. Aard. Gen.*, 31 (1914) pp. 595-98.
62. *JSBRAS* 85 (1922) pp. 210 ff ; *BKI* VI, 2, (1896) pp. 36 ff.
63. Chhabra tn *JASB*-L I (1935) pp. 41-44.
64. K. A. N. Sastri in *JMBRAS* XXII (1949) describes the objects in "*A note on Sambas Find*". Vide literature cited therein ; also Mankad on the subject in *Journ. Ind. Mus.*, IV, 1948; pp. 80 ff. Several other scholars have also discussed these finds.
65. *ABIA*, 1926, pl. XI.

CHAPTER VII

1. *KO* I.
2. *OJO* XXXI ; H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* IV (1962) pp. 115 ff.
3. Kern *VG*. VII pp. 17-53.
4. Vide *KO* II (4a. 2) ; Kern *VG*, VII (VI a. 3) ; *OV*, 1922, Bijl. L, 7 ; *KO* XVII, 3 ; H. B. Sarkar in *JAS*-I (1959) pp. 155 ff.
5. *OJO* XXIV,
6. *KO* I,
7. *TBG* 67 pp. 172 ff.
8. *OJO* XIX.
9. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I pp. 1 ff.
10. *TBG* 81 (1941) pp. 499 ff.
11. *Ibid*, vol. 68 (1928) pp. 3-16, 57-62 and pl. II.
12. *OJO* II.
13. Kern, *VG* VII pp. 17 ff.
14. *TBG* 67 pp. 172 ff.
15. *OJO* XV.
16. *TBG* 74 (1934) pp. 269-295.
17. *KO* XVIII.
18. *OV* 1925, Bijl. B pp. 42-49 ; *JGIS V* (1938).

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19. *KO* I.
20. Kern *VG* VII pp. 123 ff ; *JASB-L* (1935) pp. 34-7 ; latest edition by H. B. Sarkar in *JAS* I (1959) pp. 183 ff.
21. *OJO* XLVI (935 A.D.), LXV (1100 A.D.).
22. *OJO* XLVI.
23. *OJO* XXXVIII (929 A.D.), XLIII (930 A.D.), LII (c. 928 A.D.).
24. *OJO* XXXVIII (929 A.D.).
25. *OJO* LXXXI.
26. For example in *KO* I, 919 A.D.
27. Vide the Copper-plates of Kañcana referred to above.
28. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
29. Vide *OV* 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 41-49 ; *JGIS* V (1938) : The Inscription of Kèmbang Arum.
30. *Ibid* ; *OJO* XXXI ; the Stone of Sangguran, (850 Śaka), in *JAS*, IV (1962) pp. 115 ff.
31. De Casparis, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.
32. *TBG* 67 pp. 172 ff.
33. *BKI* 92. p, 188.
34. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
35. 84/2.
36. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
37. As this is a prohibited food for the Hindus, it indicates the adaptation of the religion to the local needs.
38. *OJO* LXXIX, pl. 5b. 7 and 6a. 1.
39. Cantos 89-90.
40. *OJO* XXXIV.
41. *KO* XVII, 11-12 ; Kern *VG* VII, pp. 177 ff.
42. *OJO* XXIII.
43. *OJO* XXX.
44. *TBG* 32 (1889) pp. 98.149.
45. *BKI* 95 (1937) pp. 441 ff.
46. *OJO* XXXII, 6.
47. *OJO* XXX, 30.
48. Kern *VG* VII pp. 17 ff. ; *OJO* IX, la etc.
49. *Rapport*, 1911, pp. 6-9.
50. *TBG* 75 (1935) pp. 437 ff.
51. *OJO* XVIII.

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52. Kern *VG* VII, p. 13 ; *BKI* 95 (1937) pp. 441 ff.
53. One may recall the name of Haricandana, for instance.
54. *OJO* XXXVII.
55. *OJO* LXXXIII.
56. *OJO* XCI, XCIV and XCV.
57. *OJO* LXI.
58. *OJO* LXIX,
59. *OJO* LXXXIV.
60. *OJO* XLII.
61. *OJO* LXII.
62. *OJO* LXVIII.
63. *OJO* LXXI.
64. *OJO* LXXII.
65. *OJO* LXXIII.
66. Krom in *TBG* 53 pp. 117 ff.
67. *OJO* LXXXV. The well-known image of Ardhanārī may, after all, refer to her.
68. *OJO* LXII.
69. *OJO* LXVIII.
70. Ed. Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century* ; text in Vol. 1 pp. 87 ff. and translation in Vol. III pp. 129 ff,
71. *OJO* XLVI (857 Śaka era=Ś.E.), XLVIII (865 ŚE). LX (956 ŚE), LXVI (1026 ŚE), LXVII (1038 ŚE). LXXIX (1191 Ś. E.) LXXXI (Jayanagara's time), LXXXIII (1245 ŚE), etc.
72. A look at the antiquarian map appended to the *HJG* of Krom would indicate that hardly any important area was left out of the impact of Indian influence.
73. *OJO* LXXIII. See also CXV where we find reference to Brahmakula and Kṣatriyakula.
74. *OJO* LXVIII.
75. This seems to be a corrupt form of the hadyan=dyah or persons belonging to the class of aristocrats. In *OJO* LXVIII, the word occurring at this place is indeed *hadyan*.
76. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
77. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 269 with literature cited in f.n. 1.
78. *OJO* LXIII.

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79. Groeneveldt, *Catalogus* (1887) p. 376 ; *OJO* LXX.
80. *OJO* LXXXIV.
81. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 50-51,
82. *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 61.
83. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
84. Latest edition by H. B. Sarkar, *JAS*-I (1959), 183 ff.
85. *OV* 1925 Bijl. B, pp. 41-49 ; H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS* V (1938).
86. *TBG* 75 (1935) pp. 437-43 ; *BKI* 95 (1937) pp. 441 ff. ; *OJO* XXX, 24 ; Kern *VG* VII pp. 17-53, pl. III A. 6.
87. Kern *VG* VII pp. 199-204 ; *JASB-L* (1935) pp. 33-34.
88. *OJO* XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVI.
89. *OJO* XXXI ; *JAS*, vol. IV, nos. 3 & 4.
90. *BKI* 95 (1927) pp. 441 ff.
91. *KO* I.
92. *KO* XX.
93. *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 24.
94. Kern, *VG* VII pp. 17 ff.
95. *OJO* XXIII.
96. *OV* 1925, Bijl. B, pp. 41-49 ; H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS* V (1938).
97. *TBG* 67 pp. 172 ff.
98. *KO* XVII.
99. *OJO* XXX ; *KO* I.
100. *OJO* XXXV.
101. *KO* II, 8a. 4 ; Kern, *VG* VII pp. 17 ff. pl. Xa. 4 ; *OJO* XXXI, 22 ; Kern, *VG* VII pp. 177 ff.
102. *TBG* 81 (1941) pp. 499 ff.
103. Canto V, str. 64 ff.
104. *TBG* 68 (1928) pp. 3-16, 57-62.
105. *Ibid*, pp. 1 ff.
106. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I, pp. 21 ff and *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961) p. 242.
107. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* I pp. 38 ff,
108. *Ibid*, vol. II pp. 175 ff.
109. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 322-24.
110. *OV* 1917 p. 88 ; H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS* VI, 1939.
111. *OJO* XXXVI, 4.

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112. *NBG* (1888) pp. 20 ff.
113. Kern *NG* VII, p. 13.
114. *OJO* XII.
115. Poerbatjarak, *Agastya in den Archipel*, 1926, pp. 74-76.
116. *KO* XX.
117. *OJO* XX.
118. *BEFEO* 47 (1955) p. 45.
119. *OJO* XXIII.
120. *OJO* XXIV.
121. *OV* 1917 p. 88 ; *JGIS* VI, 1939.
122. *BKI* 95 (1937) pp, 441 ff.
123. *TBG* 67 pp. 172 ff.
124. It may mean freeholds and all sorts of freeholds on the analogy of miśraparamiśra.
125. Should the comma be discarded and the compound be read as : Kala(ng) Kalagyan i.e. boroughs of traders and artisans ?
126. Specially reserved land ?
127. The temple and cloister with sacred hall for storage of materials connected with worship. The vihāra is well-known as referring to temple and cloister. The sala may mean the sacred hall. Cf. Yajñaśālā, annaśālā, etc. A sang hyang śāla of Hīmad is mentioned in *OJO* XLIII and Bhaṭāra of Hemad in *OJO* XXXVIII which may indicate differences in the line indicated above.
128. Where a sacred Buddhist relic (mūla) has been deposited.
129. This may refer to a funerary temple. Cf. *OJO* LXII, line 6, where we read : "śrī mahārāja devatā pjaḥ lumāḥ ri sang hyang dharma parhyangan i vvatan *i.e.* the illustrious great king, deified, dead, cremated at Sang Hyang dharma parhyangan of Vvatan. It seems thus that a deified king was laid at rest at dharma parhyangan.
130. All types of sacred places for asceticism ?
131. *OJO* XXXVIII.
132. *OJO* XXXIX.
133. *OJO* XLI.
134. *OJO* XLVI.
135. *OJO* XLIX.

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136. *OJO* LI.
137. *OJO* LII ; see also *OJO* XLVI.
138. *OJO* XLVI.
139. *OJO* L.
140. *OJO* LXIII.
141. *OJO* XL.
142. *OJO* XLVIII.
143. *OJO* LV.
144. *OJO* LXIII.
145. In the *Nāg.* 75, 2-3 we read : "The Śaivite adhyakṣa : He is given the supervision and the guardianship of parhyangan (sacred places) and kalagyans (artisans' places). The Buddhist adhyakṣa : He is here guardian of all kuṭis (cloister-halls) and vihāras (monasteries). It is not probable that the functions of these adhyakṣas remained static in the 13th and 14th centuries.
146. The Inscription of G. Boetak dated 1216 Śaka. The first part of the inscription was already published by Brandes in his edition of the *Pararaton*, pp. 77 ff. The later portions of the inscription have been published in the *OJO* LXXXI.
147. *Nāg* 10/3, 83/2, 91/2.
148. *OV* 1918 pp. 108 ff and *OJO* CXIX.
149. Bosch in *TBG* 59 (1919-21) p. 511.
150. *OJO* LXXXV.
151. The data bearing on the dharmādhyakṣas and the saptopapatti have been elaborately discussed by Van Naerssen in *BKI* 90 (1933) pp. 239 ff.
152. *TBG* 59 (1919-21) p. 515.
153. *BKI* 90 (1933) pp. 239 ff.
154. *OJO* LXXXIII. In *OJO* LXXXV, ḍang ācārya Jayasmara has been described as a sorapakṣa (sect of Sauras) and versed in the śangkya i.e. sāṃkhya-śāstra. I think the translation of the term sāngkhya by numbers in Pigeaud's *Nāg.*, 82 : 2 (*Java in the 14th century* III p. 98) is untenable. Standing between tarka and naiyāyika i.e. logic and nyāya-philosophy it can only signify another branch of philosophy, namely the sāṃkhya philosophy.

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155. Krom in *TBG* 53 pp. 433-34.
156. H. B. Sarkar in *JGIS* III (1936) pp. 108 ff.
157. *OJO* LXVIII.
158. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 433 ff.
159. If the testimony of the *Tantu Panggelaran* may be cited for this period, it seems that the Bhairava sect had two off-shoots known as the pakṣa kasturi and the pakṣa tyaga. The third one may refer to the main sect or a sect we do not know of.
160. Van Naerssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 ff.
161. *OJO* CXIX.
162. Vide Cod 3958 (2) of the *Purvādhigama* in Juynboll, *Supplement* II.
163. *Theologie*, pp. 101-4.
164. Barth, *The religions of India*, pp. 294-5 ; for Śaktism, pp. 199 ff.
165. Coedes, *Les etats*, p. 333.
166. *HJG*, pp. 220, 341.
167. *Op. cit.*, II p. 123.
168. Kern, *VG* VI (1917) pp. 252-61 and *OV*, 1912, p. 52. The data of this inscription have been elaborately studied among others, by Moens in *TBG* LXIV (1924) pp. 517 ff.
169. Act V.
170. Chap. 10, 18, 20, etc.
171. *Hitopadeṣa* iii, fable 8 (The story of Vīravara).

CHAPTER VIII

1. Swellengrebel in *Bali : Life, thought and ritual* (1960) pp. 73-76
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.
3. Grader, *Madenan (desa-monographie)*, *Meded. Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk*, V, p. 79 ; Swellengrebel, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
4. Swellengrebel quoting Korn in *Ibid.*
5. Photos of some kettle-drums may be seen in Goris & Dronkers, *Bali : Atlas kebudajaan* (1955)

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6. Vide Goris & Dronkers, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-45.
7. Quoted by Swellengrebel in *Ibid*, p. 28.
8. Vide Korn, *The consecration of a Priest in Bali : Life, thought and ritual*, pp. 133 ff.
9. C. Hooykaas in *BKI* (1964) p. 239.
10. *BSOAS*, (1965) and *BKI* 125 pp. 356 ff.
11. For details of the caste system in Bali one may study *Encycl. Ned Ind.*, Vol. I pp. 117 ff. ; Lekkerkerker, *De kastenmaatschappij in British-India en op Bali* in *Mensch en Maatschappij* II (1926) pp. 175-213, 300-334.
12 Groeneveldt *op cit*, p 17

CHAPTER IX

1. Vide Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien* (1923) p. 78.
2 Regarding the missionary activities of Prince Guṇavarman, vide Pelliot, *Deux itineraires* pp. 274 ff and t-tsing, *Record* pp. 10 ff.
3. Vide Groeneveldt, *op. cit* , pp. 13 ff. ; Krom, *op, cit*,, pp. 103 ff.
4. I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp 60 ff.
5. *Ibid*, p. 61 ; Krom, *op. cit*, pp 107 ff.
6. I-tsing, *Record*, pp. 10 ff.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 165 ff.
8. I-tsing, *Memoire*, pp 60, 63, 159, 182, 187. See also, in this connexion, Krom, *op. cit* , pp. 115 ff ; R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, I pp. 141 ff ; Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-148 ; K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Śrīvijaya*, pp. 30 ff.
9. Regarding this language see Chavannes in *BEFEO* 3 (1903) pp. 438 ff. ; Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff. ; Coedès, *op. cit*, pp. 26 ff. with literature cited therein. According to Ferrand, it was known not only in Java but also in Campā, Kambuja, Malay Peninsula, Burma and some other places.
10. I-tsing, *Record*, pp. XXII ff.
11. *TBG* 68 (1928) pp. 1 ff.
12. Plate 2, 14. Vide *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 304.
13. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor reli-*

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gious systems, pp. 165 ff. This is a Tāntrik work preserved in Nepal in a manuscript from A.D. 1174.

14. Lakulīśa and his disciples are mentioned in an inscription of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. The word Lakulīśa is possibly derived from Skt. *laguḍa* or stick. It is not therefore surprising that the deity is also called Lakuṭapāṇīśa, the god with a club in hand. The iconographic representations of the god show him with this emblem. The earliest of the images date from the 7th century. It is worth noting in this connexion that images of this deity, which are rather scarce, have mainly been discovered from eastern India. Some later images have been reproduced by J. N. Banerji, *Development of the Hindu Iconography*, 1956, pl. XXIX, fig 1, pl. XL. fig. 2, pp. 480-81. See also Weiner in *Artibus Asiae*, XXV (1962) fig. 29. See also Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* II (1916) pl. 1,pp. 17-23.
15. Regarding the origin and diffusion of the Śaiva sects, see R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*, pp. 165 ff. (*Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV).
16. Kern, *VG* VII (1917) pp. 17-53.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 137 ff.
18. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 318.
19. Notably, Zieseniss ; *Studien zur Geschichte des Sivaismus* ; *die Sivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur* in *BKI* 98 (1939) and International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi.
20. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali Dictionary* s.v. Iddhi.
21. *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Sacred Books of the East series, Vol. XX, pp. 78. ff.).
22. *Nāy.*, canto 68/2-4.
23. Cod, 5068 of the Lombok Collection, fol. 22.
24. *OJO* LX.
25. *OJO* LXII.
26. *OJO* LXIII.
27. Kern *VG* IV (1916) pp. 149-177 ; Krom, *Inleiding* I pp. 106 ff. and *Meded Kon. Akad. Wet. Afd. Lett*, dl. 58, serie B, no 8,27 ; Rassers, *Panji, the Culture Hero*, 1959,

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pp. 68 ff. As Śiva-Buddha images are known both in India and Java, it cannot simply be described as a philosophical notion, as Rassers thinks (*op. cit.*, p. 70) but a reality.

28. *Nāg.*, 41/4. 2.
29. *Ibid*, 43/5. 3-4.
30. Krom, *Inleiding* II, s. v. Harihara, specially pp. 165-67

CHAPTER X

1. For a discussion on these materials vide A. Lamb, *Tamil Culture X* 1963 pp. 75-86.
2. Regarding these States Vide Wheatley, *Golden Kkersonese* (1961) pp. 282 ff.
3. These dates have been questioned by Lamb in *Malaya in History* (1958) Vol. iv pp. 2 ff and Vol. V (1959) pp. 5 ff.
4. For a succinct account see Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff.
5. *BCAI* (1909) pp. 184-5.
6. *IAL* IX, no. 1, pp. 1-31.
7. Lajonquiere, *op. cit.*
8. Groeneveldt, *Notes*, py. 10-11
9. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
10. *Ibid*, p. 28.
11. Groeneveldt *op. cit*,, p. 10.
12. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
13. For a description vide *JMBRAS* XVIII .(1940) pp. 73-74.
14. Groeneveldt, op. *cit.*, p. 122.
15. Wheatley(*op.* cit., p. 56) translates the passage thus : 'Musical instruments include the p'i-p'a and the heng-ti, brass cymbals, an iron drum and the calabash". For want of description, we do not know whether the p'i-p'a can be brought in connexion with the Indian musical instrument (flute) *bhepu*, which has almost the same phonetical value.
16. For text and translation of these passages see Wheatley *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.

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17. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 63,
18. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30.
19. Cf. Wales, *Towards Angkor*, p. 75.
20. Text and translation in Wheatley, *op. cit.*, pp, 48-49. This is one of the rare instances regarding the existence of the order of nuns in ancient Malaya.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.
22. *Ibid*, p. 292.
23. *Ibid, op. cit*, p. 49. It is difficult to say what is intended by the classic of the Asura king." Many Asura kings are known to Indian mythology but no classic, to my knowledge, is attributed to them. As the phrase has been used in a passage where reference to Buddhism occurs, it is not unlikely that it refers to the Asura present in the conventional description of worldwide audiences that introduce a typical Mahāyāna Sūtra as one of the eight classes of (converted Supernatural) Beings, being fifth in the list. Regarding Asura in theology and iconography, vide Moran in Artibus Asiae, vol. XXVII, pp. 99-133.
24. *Ibid*, p. 68.
25. Vide Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua, Chu-fan-chih*, p 24
26. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
27. Groeneveldt. *op. cit.*, p. 127.
28. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 ff.

CHAPTER XI

1. Groeneveldt, *op. cit*, p. 122 ; Wheatley; *op. cit.*, p. 56.
2. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 51 ff.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 49, 51.
5. N. Sengupta, *Evolution of Hindu marriage*, 1965, p. 78.
6. *Ibid*, p. 72.
7. Wheatley, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
8. Text an translation in Wheatley, p. 17.
9. *Ibid* 18.

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10. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ff.
11. *Ibid*, p. 52.
12. Many people believe that the dead person lives happily in the next world if the dead body is eaten by dogs. Some nations also believe that the dog is a path-finder to the next world. We find references to a pair of dogs of Yama (the king of Death) in the *Rgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and later works. In the *Mahābhārara*, a dog showed Yudhisthira the way to Heaven. Vide D. R. Shastri, *Origin and Development of the rituals of ancestor-worship in India* (1963) pp. 41 ff.
13. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
14. *Ibid*, p. 77.
15. *Ibid*, 79.
16. *Strabo* XV. 62.
17. Vide *Herodotus* IV, 71 ff. ; Winternitz, *Die Frau im Brahmanismus*. 1920, pp. 56-57.
18. Vide Pigeaud, *Java in the fourteenth century*, IV p. 488.
19. For funeral ceremonies and the cult of the Dead in the island of Bali, one may consult, among others, the following works : Crucq, *Bijdrage to de kennis van het Balisch dooden-ritueel*, 1928 ; Wirz, *Der Totenkult auf Bali*, 1928 ; Bali : *Studies in life, thought and ritual*, 1960, ed. Wertheim. For a popular account see Goris and Dronkers, *Balī : atlas kebudajaan*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	Annnal Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.
Barabudur	Mus, Barabuḍur. Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondèe sur la critique archèologique des textes. I, BEFEO XXII (1932), pp. 269-439 ; II, ibid XXXIII (1933), pp. 577-980 ;III, ibid XXXIV (1934) pp. 175-400.
BCAI	Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Deux itineraires :	Pelliot, Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde a' la fin du VIIIe siècle in BEFEO 4 (1904) pp. 132-413.
Drie boeken :	Juynboll, Drie boeken van het Oud-Javaansche Mahābhārata (Āśramawasaparwa, Mausalaparwa, Prasthānikaparwa), 1893.
EA	Etudes Asiatiques, two volumes, 1925.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
HJG	Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis. 1931.
Hoofdlijnen :	Berg, Hoofdlijnen der Javaansche Litteratuur Geschiedenis, 1929.
IAL	Indian Art and Letters.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
Indian influences :	Sarkar, Indian influences on the literature of Java and Bali, 1934.
Inleiding	Krom, Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst, 1923.
ISCC	Barth and Bergaigne, Inscriptions Sanskrites du Cambodge et Champa, 2 vols. 1885, 1893.
JA	Journal Asiatique.

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JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865-1904)
JASL	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters (from 1935)
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society.
JFMSM	Journal of the Federated Malay States' Museums.
JGIS	Journal oi the Greater India Society.
JIH	Journal of Indian History.
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KBNW	Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek by H. N. van der Tuuk, 4 vols.
KO	Kawi Oorkonden in facsimile met inleiding en transcriptie by A.B. Cohen Stuart, 1875.
Les etats	G. Coedès, Les etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie, 1948. Revised 1964.
Memoire	I-tsing, Memoire compose'e a' I'e'poque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les Religieux Eminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident. Translated by E. Chavannes, 1894.
MK	Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Notes	Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources, 1877.
Nāg	Nāgarakṛtāgama, edited by Pigeaud, Java in the fourteenth century, in five volumes.
NBG	Notulen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
OJO	Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, 1913.

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OLZ	Oost-Asiatische Litteratuur Zeitung,
OV	Oudheidkundige Verslag.
Rāma legenden	Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesian by W. F. Stutterheim.
Rapporten	Rapporten van de Commissie Nederlandsch-Indie voor oudheikundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera.
Record	I-tsing. A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago. Translated by Takakusu, 1896.
Supplement	Juynboll, Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handscriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Vol. I 1907, Vol. II 1911.
Suppl. Cat. Sund.	Bal. Sas, HSS : Juynboll, Supplement op den Calalogus van de Sundaneesche Handscriften en Catalogus van Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, 1912.
Tantu	Pigeaud, De Tantu Panggelaran, 1924.
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootscap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
Textes	Coedès, Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs a l'Extrême-Orient depuis le IVe siècle Av. J. C. jusqu'au XIV siècle. Recueillis et traduits, 1910.
Textes	Ferrand, Relations de voyages et Textes Ge'ographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs a l'Extreme-Orient du VIIIe au XVIII e siècles, 2 vols, 1913-14.
Theologie	Goris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie, 1926.
VGE	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
VG	Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, 15 volumes.

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APPENDIX

A NOTE ON THE IMAGE IN THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUDUR

The opening verses in the Karang tengha inscription[1] seems to refer to the deity on the terminal stūpa of Baradudur. The verses, written in Sanskrit, may be translated thus :

"May the hero of immeasurable might *seated in the great Vajraparyaṅka*-attitude on the lofty hill, he, born in the world,.....a lion (among beings) to the very tip..... may he protect the whole world of innocent beings, from the power of Cupid."

The Karang tengah inscription seems to be the foundation-charter of Barabudur or associated with it in some way. Since Barabudur is a hill-feature, the śailastha-śūra of the inscription obviously refers to the "hero" on the "hill" i.e. the great Buddhist deity who sits in vajraparyaṅka-attitude on the Barabudur. Now, there are two deities in the Buddhist pantheon who sit in the vajraparyaṅka-attitude. One of them is Vairocana and the other is Vajradhara. The name of the second deity reminds us of the fact that scholars, uninhibited by the opening verses of the Karang tengah inscription, had already come to the conclusion from a study of the iconographical details of the Barabudur stūpa that it represents the influence of the Vajradhara set. If so, it is natural that the highest deity of the sect, who is no other than Vajradhara, should be placed on its terminal stūpa. It may be recalled that in the Kelurak inscription, dated 782 A.D.[2], the greatest of the Buddhist gods is found to be Lokeśa, also known as Lokeśvara, Avalokiteśvara, Avalokita, Lokanatha etc. When Lokeśvara teaches the Law, he is Vajrapāṇi, another form of Vajradhara. Available epigraphic data therefore support the sculptural evidence that the image on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur could be that of Vajradhara.

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1. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, Vol. I, pp 38 ff.
2. TBG 68 (1928) pp.1 ff.

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Now, the wealth of the Śailendra-monarchs justified that such an image would be made of gold. According to the religious conception of the time, it must have not only represented the highest divinity of the Buddhist world, but also the rājacakravartin, moulded into one. So the image must have been cast in the mould of a Śailendra king, but otherwise it represented the supreme Buddhist divinity of the Vajrayāna system. The whole idea typified a symmetry between the State organisation and the religious cosmology. Scholars have found the application of this principal in both Indo-China and Indonesia. It is well-known that in Cambodia, the cult of Devarāja (King of gods) and rājacakravartin (king-emperor) was fused together, offering a parallel to the Vukir-hill liṅga of king Sañjaya, which served as the palladium of the reigning dynasty. Similar must have been the case in regard to the image on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. It was the palladium of the Śailendra-dynasty.

Who introduced this cult of Vajradhara into Java ? The question can not be answered definitely. Since the cult was developed by the monks of Nālandā in eastern India, it is likely that the cult was introduced into Java by Kumāraghoṣa of Gauḍīdvīpa (W. Bengal), who has been referred to in the Kelurak inscription, dated 782 Śaka, as the preceptor of the Śailendra-king. In any case, there is hardly any doubt that the Śailendra-rulers of Java were adherents of the Vajradhara-sect.

A few years after the foundation of Barabudur, Bālaputradeva the last Śailendra ruler of Java, lost the kingdom in about 856 A.D. and left for Sumatra. As the image of Vajradhara served as the palladium of the dynasty, Bālaputradeva naturally took it away with him in his island home of Sumatra. That the practice of installing a god-king or king-god was in vogue in Sumatra can be ascertained from the *Chu fan-chi* of Chau Ju-kua, written in about 1225/6 A.D. Referring to San fo-ts'i (Śrīvijaya) it says : "This is an idol (lit. a Buddha) which is called the Mountain of Gold and Silver. Its statue is cast in gold. Each king just before mounting the throne causes his image to be cast in gold to

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replace the statue.....The golden statue, the vases and plates, all of them bear inscription, so that future generations may not destroy them."[3]

These statues therefore appear to be the hereditary successors of the image installed in the terminal stūpa of Barabudur and taken away by Bālaputradeva to Sumatra. Regarding the migration of such palladium, one may recall how the tooth-relic of Buddha, which served as the palladium of the ruling dynasties of Ceylon, passed from capital to capital, with the varying fortunes of the ruling dynasties.

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3. For discussion on the topic, vide *JGIS* II, pp. 35-36,

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ERRATA

P. 7 5th line from bottom	Read : Pāṇīnian in stead of : Paṇynian
P. 13 1st line	,, tow in stead of : two
P. 16 last line	,, Hindu in stead of : indu
P. 22 23rd line	,, § 60 in stead of : 660
P. 25 13th line	,, data in stead of : date
P. 27 14th line	,, Liang in stead of Lian
P. 36 3rd para, 3rd line	,, who after : God
P. 42 10th line	,, Vajradhara in stead of : Buddha
P. 42 12th line	,, refers to in stead of : to refers
P. 108 7th line and 8th lines	Replace these two lines by : Vajraparyaṅka attitude on the lofty hill." The lofty hill may be the Barabudur hill and the great deity venerated at the terminal stūpa was that of Vajradhara.
P. 172 Heading of Chap. IX	Replace India by : Java
P. 174 6th line	Read : Kind in stead of : king
P. 177 8th line from bottom	Read : Vajradhara in stead of : Vajara
P. 186 18th line	Read : Ch'ih-t'u in stead of : Ch'ih-b'u
P. 193 7th line	Read : ingredients in stead of : imgredients

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